California Historical Society Quarterly

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VOL. III, NO. 4 DECEMBER, 1924

California Historical Society Quarterly

THE VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO DE ULLOA

Introduction

In the first number of the *Quarterly* I published an article on the "Discovery of California" in which I brought together all the information available to me at that time regarding the various expeditions of discovery sent out by Cortes, as well as that which he himself commanded. The latter was really a colonizing enterprise, but the impossibility of finding pearls in sufficient quantity, although some no doubt were actually obtained, the general sterility of the country and total lack of resources with which to sustain any kind of colony, brought about the total failure of the expedition.

No doubt nothing more would have been heard about California for a long time but for the unexpected arrival in Mexico of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, who, spreading about stories of settled communities in the north, excited the Spaniards, who had just about this time obtained an enormous amount of treasure from similar communities in Peru. It was not, however, until the fall of 1538 that the viceroy took any active steps to determine the truth of the stories in circulation. At that time he sent Marcos de Niza to the north, but he actually did not leave until the spring of 1539.

Some of the wanderers no doubt told Cortes some of these stories and he undertook to make a discovery on his own account. He got together three vessels at Acapulco in the spring of 1539, and they left there July 8 under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, who had formerly been with Cortes himself in California. We unfortunately lack the instructions which Cortes must have given Ulloa, and are therefore forced to assume what his objects were from statements Cortes himself made afterward, and from remarks of Ulloa. According to these, the expedition was sent out with the hope or expectation of discovering the Seven Cities, or at least to find out if any information regarding them could be obtained from the natives.

When Cortes returned from California he took with him some Indians to be taught Spanish so that they could act as interpreters, and Ulloa had along one of these. None of the Indians which Ulloa encountered could understand his Indian, so this pious and timely effort was without effect. Nevertheless Ulloa was persistent in his

efforts to get hold of Indians to question regarding the land, and it is a pity he found none that could be understood, as otherwise we would certainly have obtained much information about the objects of the expedition from the questions put to them.

We are greatly handicapped in not having any account of Cortes' own expedition to California, as the statements about it in Gomara and various documents, contemporary and later, are of too random a character to enable us to reconstruct any full and trustworthy account. All we know is that Cortes discovered the south coast and the cape now called "Cape San Lucas," and that he sent out or led various land expeditions. Where these went we do not know, except that we may reasonably infer from the character of the country between La Paz and the Pacific that one of them must have crossed there. We do not know when the Cortes map was constructed, but very likely it was after the return of the expedition and displays the results obtained. In one place Ulloa tells us that he had told his pilots that in case of separation they were to rendezvous in latitude 25° in the Pacific. This is presumptive evidence that he knew that this place was no great distance away; as a matter of fact it is nearly opposite La Paz, so probably the Pacific had been discovered at that latitude by one of Cortes' land expeditions.

The first published account of the Ulloa expedition occurs in Francisco Lopez de Gomara's book, the *Conquista de Mexico,* and occupies only a very short chapter. We have no definite information about the source from which Gomara obtained his facts; no doubt for the early part of the conquest he had material obtained from Cortes himself, but there is some doubt where he obtained that for the latter part. This part of the history was probably written by him shortly after 1542.

In 1556, there appeared in Italian, in Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi,* Vol. III, an extended account of the expedition, which purports to have been written by one Francisco Preciado, whose name will be found as a witness to various of the *actas* of possession attached to the Ulloa narrative. It is more or less in the form of a diary, and at the end it is stated that it was finished in the port of Santiago de Buena Esperanza on May 17. That Preciado wrote in Spanish seems most likely, as he was a Spaniard, but if so, the original has disappeared. The fact that it was translated and published by Ramusio is some indication that the account had been printed in Spanish, which is not at all unlikely. The chapter headings favor this view, as one contains the name "Diamantes" not found in the narrative. If Ramusio put this in he must have had some other account at hand, which is

unlikely, as he does not correct Preciado's obvious errors. This account was translated by Hakluyt and published in Volume III of his *Principal navigations,* in the year 1600, and from that translation is derived most of the information which has been embodied in current English histories regarding the expedition. Hakluyt made a few interpolations, chiefly the use of the word "California" several times and the addition at the end regarding the movements of Ulloa subsequent to leaving Cedros—an important addition hereafter referred to.

Herrera, who published a considerable account of the expedition in 1615 in his *Historia general,* Cap. VIII of Lib. IX, Dec. VI, took his account entirely from that of Preciado, presumably from the pages of Ramusio.

A few years ago there was discovered in the Archives of the Indies in Seville an account of the expedition written by Ulloa himself. It is in the form of a legalized copy made in Mexico City May 29, 1540, the object of executing the copy being expressed in the preamble thereto. A copy was brought to this country, and a reference to it was made by Richman, in his *California under Spain and Mexico,* who calls the author of it, Pedro de Valencia. Chapman in his *History of California,* makes a somewhat more extended reference to it and calls it the Palencia account, written by Pedro de Palencia, an *escribano* with the expedition. Palencia, however, had nothing whatever to do with writing it, but simply bore witness to the various *actas* of possession which were made by Ulloa and which are appended to the narrative. These *actas* no doubt were on different sheets of paper, and in copying them the order of the first two was reversed. Three Franciscian friars accompanied the expedition, of whom I have been unable to obtain any further information whatever beyond the fact that Antonio de Meno, who is stated by Preciado to have returned on the Santa Agueda, and Fray Remundo were to have been sent by Mendoza with the proposed second Alarcon expedition. The other one was named Pedro de Ariche. None of the early chronicles of the order mention any of the names, nor have I found any record of them in the numerous *relaciones de servicios* of this period which I have examined.

In 1922, at the expense of the Mexican government, a book was published in two volumes by Francisco A. de Icaza, which is a calendar of some thirteen hundred and eighty-five *relaciones de servicios* of persons prominent in the conquest of Mexico or in the period immediately thereafter. In the introduction a vague reference is made to the various *legajos* in which these *relaciones* are supposed to be, but a search for some time has so far developed the fact that very few of

them can now be found. It moreover appears that Icaza found in *legajo* 87-5-1 a ready-made calendar of a number of *relaciones* in a sixteenth century handwriting. These he copied bodily into his list, the rest being probably later ones which he found scattered in various *legajos*. So far we have not been able to find a single one of the *relaciones* listed in the sixteenth century list, although a few others have been found of the same individuals but containing somewhat different facts and therefore not being the identical ones calendared by Icaza.

In the original list will be found a large number made by persons who accompanied Cortes or Ulloa to California. Some few were made by widows of explorers, and a few by other persons in their behalf.

To be specific, there are fifty-six entries in Icaza's book referring to Cortes' expedition to California, and five to that of Ulloa. It is probable that nearly all of these relations were made between 1547 and 1551; and indeed, the original sixteenth century list which Icaza used seems to have been drawn up in Mexico about 1551 or 1552 in connection with some scheme for redistribution of *encomiendas* of Indians. It is therefore probable that none of those particular relations were sent to Spain, and they were therefore ultimately destroyed in the fire in the palace of Mexico in 1692.

Of those who accompanied the Ulloa expedition, Icaza notes the relations of five, from which I have made extracts of the most important information:

Francisco Preciado (the author of the account in Ramusio) deposed that he was a native of Molino da Aragon and a citizen of Colima. His father had been a servant of Ferdinand and Isabella and he had taken part in the war of Granada and others. He himself had come to New Spain sixteen years before, and was married to a daughter of Alonso de Arevalo, and had three daughters and a son, and a settled abode. He said that he had accompanied an expedition with a fleet which Cortes had made on a voyage of discovery in the South Sea. (Not dated, but probably made about 1547-50.)

Francisco de Terrazas, the younger, deposed that he was a native of Llerena and had come to New Spain eighteen years before, in company with his father, Alonso de Vera. He had accompanied Cortes to California, and afterward Ulloa in the capacity of *veedor*. He had not married as he had no means to support a wife. (Not dated, but probably about 1547-50.)

Juan de Montaño deposed that he was a native of Portogalete in Vizcaya, and had come to New Spain seventeen years before. He had gone with Cortes to the island of California, and afterward with Ulloa on his voyage of discovery in the South Sea. He was married and had a daughter. He declared that he had had a royal order for his support, which he had given to Lic. Altamirano, who had lost it. (Not dated, but about 1547-50.)

Gonzalo Hidalgo de Montemayor deposed that he was a native of Villanueva de la Serena and a *regidor* of the city of Los Angeles (i.e., Puebla) and had come to New Spain fourteen years before. He had gone with Cortes to the New Land, and afterward with Ulloa on his voyage of discovery. He was married and had three daughters and two sons. (Not dated, but about 1547-50.)

Martin de Espinosa deposed that he was a native of Espinosa de los Monteros and had come to New Spain seventeen years before. He had gone to the island of California with Cortes, and afterward with Ulloa to discover in the South Sea. He had a settled abode and a salary from Cortes. (Not dated but about 1547-50.)

As a side light on the names for California employed in that period, I may note that in the fifty-six that referred to the expedition of Cortes himself to California, we find the following expressions used:

a la isla - 25
a las islas - 1
a la isla California - 17
a la California - 5
a la tierra nueva with Cortes - 3
a una tierra en la mar del sur - 1
al descubrimiento - 1
en la jornada - 1
a la isla del cardon - 1
a las islas de cardoñas - 1

From the above it appears that nearly one-half of the explorers referred to it as the *isla,* nearly the other half used the term "California," whereas two referred to it as the island of *Cardon,* that is to say, "Cactus." Only two of the above give any real information about the expedition, namely, Juan de Jaso and Jorge Ceron, and that is very little.

Preciado, who returned on the Santa Agueda, gives a short account of the return voyage. Of those on board he mentions by name only Antonio de Meno, or Melo as he calls him, and the captain, Juan Castellon. He speaks of the great number of whales to be found near the cape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz (i.e. Cape San Lucas), and adds some more about the kelp at Cedros. The Santa Agueda arrived at the port of Santiago de Buena Esperanza on the 18th of April. After stopping there four or five days she departed for Acapulco, and since then up to the 17th of May, he said, he had heard no news of her. Cortes tells us in his *Memorial sobre agravios* that the ship landed at Santiago a sailor sent to give him advice of what had happened. Rodrigo Maldonado, who was there under orders of the viceroy, put him to torment to find out what news he carried. Not being able to get anything out of him, Maldonado went with some horsemen to the port to take possession of the ship, which, however, had already sailed. He followed her along the coast a distance of a hundred and twenty leagues, but the ship could not enter any port on account of the surf. A storm struck her in which she lost her anchors and her boat, and by necessity she had to enter the port of Guatulco, where the vessel was lost and the pilot and the sailors taken prisoners. Cortes does not tell us what became of Ulloa.

Did Ulloa himself return? The evidence is twofold that he did: first, a direct statement by Bernal Diaz del Castillo that he did return to the port of Xalisco and was afterward stabbed by one of his men; and second, quite a little circumstantial evidence. Perhaps the cartographic is the strongest. On all the early maps giving the results of

this expedition we find two names not to be found in either the Ulloa or Preciado accounts, namely, "Cabo de Engaño" and "Los Cazones" (with variations). Nor is there in either account any mention of any such islands or of any cape which might deserve the name of "False" cape. As far as I can make out from the two accounts, the two vessels never got out of the big bay to the east of Cedros island, and in both it is specifically stated that 30° north was the highest point observed. This would take them only some half a degree or less north of Cedros, far removed from where Cabo de Engaño appears on the Cabot or Agnese map. Unless, therefore, Ulloa returned, how could these maps show a cape so far north? What those islands are under the name "Los Cazones" (which means dog-fish, i.e. a small shark) I am at a loss to understand; from their positions on these maps I should think that they were the San Benitos, as these islands much later were placed nearly north of Cedros instead of west. Usually today they are considered to be San Geronimo and San Martin, and Cabo de Engaño to be Cabo Bajo or Punta Baja, in 29°56′. Both the Cabot and Agnese maps perhaps favor this view; but if this be the case, Ulloa returned, as the ships never reached that far north of Cedros before the Santa Agueda sailed south. It will be noted that Castillo reduces the distance of Cabo de Engaño north of Cedros to about one and one-half degrees, and puts the cape in only 27½° instead of 34° as in the Cabot map. Castillo's evidence, however, is not above suspicion, as he was not with Ulloa but with Alarcon, and he certainly followed his captain in minimizing Ulloa's statements about reaching so high a latitude in order to glorify the achievements of Alarcon and his men. On the contrary, Ulloa in his map may have gone to the other extreme to glorify his achievements, and thus put the mouth of the Colorado in 34° and Cabo de Engaño opposite in nearly the same latitude.

On the map of Diego de Homem (Plate VIII), reading down from the north, some names are found which do not appear on any earlier map that I have seen (except "La Madalena" on the Agnese map) nor on any later one until the end of the century. They are as follows: Rio San Joan, Laguna de los Apostoles, C. del tiburon, I. de la madalena, I. de S. Ana, and then some Ulloa names to the lower end of the peninsula. The two islands of San Martin and San Geronimo are both shown without names, and the Laguna de los Apostoles is undoubtedly the large lagoon near Port San Quentin. Cape Engaño is almost certainly what is now known as San Antonio point, and Cape Tiburon is one of the points in the bay of Sebastian Vizcaino. The resemblance of this last name to Cazones is not to be passed over, especially as in the map of Castillo, Cazones is a *punta* and not islands. Altogether

the map affords evidence of some expedition on the coast, and taking into consideration the various places named after saints it appears that it was one from the north, south. They are as follows, with the days of the saints: San Juan [Gualberto], July 12; Los Apostoles [the separation of], July 15; Madalena, July 22; and Santa Anna, July 26. Although Urdaneta returning from the Philippines was on this coast in 1565, there is no evidence in the account of the expedition that he named anything in this neighborhood, nor were they there in July. It therefore seems probable that we have here some indication of the return voyage of Ulloa. After leaving Cedros on the 5th of April, on this assumption he would have gone at least as far as 32° or 33° north latitude, and returning in July, given these names as they occur on Homem's map. There seems to be no other adequate or even possible explanation. "Madalena" for the San Benitos, or for the main San Benito, only appears on Agnese maps and their derivatives. "Santa Anna" for Natividad island appears on no other map that I have seen, and the Laguna de los Apostoles only appears on maps at the end of the century, probably copied from this or some other of Homem's maps.

A further bit of strong circumstantial evidence that Ulloa returned consists in the fact that among the hundreds of relations of services by Spaniards in Mexico before 1550 not one so far examined mentions the fact that Ulloa was lost, and a number of them state specifically that they accompanied this expedition. Even Francisco de Terrazas, the *veedor* or inspector, who certainly should have gone forward with Ulloa, returned, because we have his own *relacion* made afterwards. Unfortunately, up to the present we have been unable to locate in the Archives at Seville the original statement of Terrazas, but only the extract previously quoted.

Cuevas, in *Cartas y otras documentos de Hernan Cortes,* page 222, prints a document in which Cortes, in 1543, in an answer to an interrogatory in Madrid about the daughter of one Cordero, one of his pilots in his California expedition, said that Ulloa had carried her off, and referred to him for further information. This would imply that Cortes thought Ulloa alive in 1543.

At the end of the translation of the Preciado account in Hakluyt is a statement not found in Preciado, that Ulloa discovered the Cabo del Engaño in 30½°, and then returned on account of a shortage of provisions. This seems circumstantial, and Hakluyt might have obtained this information from some Spanish friend. Also he might have inferred it from the Cabot map, which he knew at least by Clement Adams' copy of it, to which he frequently refers.

And lastly, the first recorded *acta* of possession by Rodriguez Ca-

brillo is generally stated to have been made in 30°24′, just north of Punta Baja, which is some evidence that he, who certainly had some map showing Ulloa's discoveries, thought that Ulloa had gone nearly that far north.

Opposed to all this is the negative evidence that no Spanish historian who gives an account of the expedition—except Bernal Diaz—says that Ulloa returned; even Herrera states expressly that nothing more was ever heard of him. Of this statement, however, it may be said that it might have been a misunderstanding of the last clause in the Preciado account. Herrera is not the only translator who perhaps thought this referred to Ulloa and not, as it does, to the ship Santa Agueda.

The narrative has been translated by Miss I. A. Wright of Seville, with some little assistance from me. The document is to be found in *legajo* 1—1—½₀, number 5, *ramo* 11, and is written on thirty-five small folio leaves on both sides. Unfortunately the lower part of the first leaf is torn off, resulting in a loss of several lines which evidently contained some account of the maps made by Ulloa's pilots. The text is extremely difficult to read and required the combined efforts of Miss Wright and the experts in the Archives to make out some of it. Indeed, parts were so illegible as to defy satisfactory translation.

The document has been separated from those which perhaps originally accompanied it, but I think that it may have been filed by Cortes himself with other papers in the famous suit between himself, Mendoza, Alvarado, and De Soto, over the rights of discovery in the South sea. The first mention of it I find in 1907, in W. R. Shepherd's *Guide to the materials for the history of the United States in Spanish archives,* where it is listed as being in the section *Patronato Real* as "Documents concerning the voyage of Francisco de Ulloa to the region of California, 1539-40." According to Shepherd, the division of *Patronato Real* was made about 1814, and later an index was formed in which Ulloa's relation will be found. Previous to this, Navarrete had searched the Archives diligently for material for his *Biblioteca maritima Española,* but evidently did not see this as he only mentions the account in Ramusio; nor did Buckingham Smith see it, nor the editors of the *Documentos ineditos.*

For purposes of identification of the places I have used the latest charts of the U. S. Navy, and the latitudes are taken from the *Mexico and Central American pilot* (*West coast*), sixth edition, 1920. The references to Preciado in the footnotes are to the Hakluyt translation, and where the original Italian is referred to the name "Ramusio" or "Italian" is used.

THE NARRATIVE OF ULLOA

In the great city of Tenochtitlan,[1] Mexico, in this New Spain, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of May in the year of Our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and forty, before the very noble Señor Juan de Burgos, for their majesties alcalde ordinary of this said city of Mexico, and in the presence of me, Alonso Diaz de Gibraleon, notary for their majesties, and registered notary public of this said city of Mexico, appeared in person Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, on behalf of the Señor Marques del Valle, and presented a written petition, as follows:

Very noble sir: I, Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, majordomo for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle, and on behalf of the said señor marques, appear before your honor and declare that I have need to make certain authorized transcripts of certain documents which Captain Francisco de Ulloa is forwarding to my said principal, concerning the new land, and the discovery on which my said principal sent him; and because I desire to send these to the said señor marques and fear lest they may be torn or lost or wet or burned, I therefore petition and entreat your honor to have them copied in clear, in legal form, and to authorize and legalize each copy as fully as may be, delivering same to me to present wherever my principal's interests may require.

The said written petition having been so presented in the said manner, the said señor alcalde received into his hands a written relation and seven acts of possession, and saw that they were not torn or cancelled or in any respect suspicious, and said that he ordered, and did so order me the said . . . . [About five lines torn off].[2]

. . . . ordered me, because the inspector has it so, and drawn by my hand, from which your lordship will not learn much more than from this one, except the course, and how the coast runs and its inlets and outlets; wherefore I refer your lordship to this map, which I forward with this narrative. It was made by this pilot who is going with me.[3]

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[1] Mexico City.

[2] This missing part of the document evidently refers to the map which accompanied the relation.

[3] As Castellon returned with the Santa Agueda, it was evidently the other pilot who went on with Ulloa. From the Preciado account we learn that his name was Pedro de Bermes.

He and the other one have disagreed on the latitudes. The narrative is in accordance with the latitude determined by the other one, because I consider him to be a man who knows what he's about, especially in the matter of latitude.[4] Furthermore, he keeps his astrolabe and instruments carefully corrected and in good order, which is not the case with Juan de Castellon's. For this reason I have been guided by them.

With this narrative will be found seven acts of possession taken of lands through which we passed, for your lordship.

Record and narrative of the voyage and discovery which, in the name of Our Lord, was made after this, your lordship's armada, had left the port of Acapulco, which was on July 8, 1539; as far as this, Cedros, island, where I now am, on April 5, 1540.

First, with the ships (which God preserve), one called the Santa Agueda, another the Trinidad, and the other, the Santo Tomas,[5] we left the port of Acapulco on July 8[6] with fair weather, although some heavy showers fell and there was much wind, so much that we were somewhat hard pressed as we sailed along the coast. On arriving in the locality. of Punta de Motin on a Wednesday, 16th of the said month, as we sailed there there was a little wi . . . . [About eight lines gone.]

. . . the capstan well, Our Lord was pleased to permit us to recover without any loss all the sails and cordage and everything else that went overboard.

Next day at dawn we put ourselves into the best condition we could to continue our voyage, but it was not so good but what the breaking of these masts proved a considerable handicap during our voyage, especially since there befell us some seven or eight days of calms and little wind. We arrived at the port of Santiago de Buena Esperanza[7] on Sunday, 7th [27th] of the said month.

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[4] I have called attention, in various notes attached to the narrative, to the errors in the observations of latitude noted by Ulloa. The farther north he went the greater the errors. This was not a fault peculiar to Ulloa's pilots, but common in the sixteenth century. It indicates some defect in the methods of taking observations with the crude instruments then in use. Depending on which statement we use, that of the *acta* or that of Ulloa, the error at the mouth of the Colorado was from 1¾ to 2¼ degrees, whereas at Cape San Lucas the error was very trifling.

[5] In the heading to the account in Ramusio and translated by Hakluyt, it is stated that the Santa Agueda was of 240 *botte*, the Trinidad of 70, and the Santas Tomas of 40. Hakluyt translates the figures as 120 tons, 35 tons and 20 tons. It seems that he considered a *botte* (which was an old Italian liquid measure) as equal to one-half a ton. The Santa Agueda was the Capitana, the Trinidad the Almiranta.

[6] Preciado says the 28th, an obvious error.

[7] Now one of the small ports in the harbor of Manzanillo.

We were twenty-six days in this port of Santiago, repairing the damage the ship Santa Agueda had suffered, and awaiting the supplies they were to give us, and taking on water and wood and other things necessary to our voyage.

After we had done as above stated in this port, and the supplies had come, we left on a Saturday, August 23, and as we were putting out at ten o'clock at night, the wind turned contrary in such manner that we were compelled to return to our anchorage. At dawn the wind blew favorably again, to that we again weighed, and as we sailed, with fair weather, fifteen leagues beyond the Jalisco islands, on a Wednesday, 27th of this month of August, we were caught in a storm which lasted more than twenty-four hours. It occasioned us some difficulty, especially the ship Santo Tomas.

Wracked by the wind and waves, she began to make water, and so badly that those aboard could not keep it down, according to what they told me, shouting to me that they were sinking, and could not keep afloat. God grant that this may not be true, and that they are there, safe!

I answered them, encouraging them the best I could, urging them to exert themselves, to fear nothing, and to work that night as best they could, that I would follow them, and repair the ship when the storm was over, since at that moment our fortune permitted nothing more. And, if the storm separated us that night, I bade them to rendezvous in the port and bay of Santa Cruz †, where your lordship was, for they knew that it was a known harbor, safe for the whole armada to enter and leave without any difficulty or danger, as was no other we could make on that coast. When I had told them this, they stood away on the course I had laid down, and I remained behind, waiting for the ship Santa Agueda, which was coming up the last, in order to speak her and order her what to do, if we were to follow the other vessel.

I could not speak her, because Castellon (who was steering her) invariably endeavored to keep away, so that I could not speak him; for which reason, and others which I will report to your lordship, I did not dare to leave this ship this night, to follow the other, but, on the contrary, I stood by her all that night, watching her, that she might not play me some trick of the sort which are played, for there was wind and opportunity for it.

When the next day dawned, I spoke him and gave him orders to follow the course and the route taken by the other ship, which he was able to do without difficulty, for the weather was now fair and the wind suitable for doing so. We stood away and without stopping sailed

as far as it seemed to us the other ship could have gone, which was until we arrived in the vicinity of El Guayaval.[8]

Seeing that we had not found the ship, nor did she appear on all that coast, we drew near the port and bay of Santa Cruz †,[9] to see if she had gone, or was going there, as I had told them on August 29. We arrived off Santiago[10] and Las Perlas island[11] on the 31st of the said month. We went about these islands, unable to make the port, with calms and fair weather and contrary winds, for eight days. We made it on Sunday, September 7, and we could have made it the Saturday before, except that the pilot Castellon made a mistake in entering, and grounded the Santa Agueda in the shallows at the entrance.[12] We were all that day and the next getting her off, and bringing her into the said port. Our Lord granted that she should come off without any detriment or damage.

We were in this port and bay of Santa Cruz† two days,[13] taking on water and wood and other things, and timber which we needed, all of which we took without difficulty or contradiction from the natives, and even without seeing a man of them, except three or four whom we saw at the entrance, on the height of the hill which is by the little inlet your lordship will recall; and we saw a smoke or two inland, at a good distance from us.

We found the headquarters and camp which your lordship had

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[8] Ramusio calls this the river of "Guaiavale" in the province of Culiacan, probably that now known as the "Culiacan." In spite of the assertions of Orozco y Berra, Bancroft and other writers, that no island existed here, there is abundant reliable contemporary evidence of the sixteenth century that an island of this name, with some variations, actually existed on the coast between the Mocorito and Culiacan rivers. It was nothing but a long, narrow sand-bar, covered with chaparral, about a mile from the mainland. At low tide the passage between seems to have been dry. A port of Guayaval is sometimes referred to, which may have been where Altata is now located, just north of the mouth of the Culiacan river.

[9] Hakluyt adds the words "in California", which are not in Ramusio.

[10] Cerralvo island.

[11] Espiritu Santo island. This island had been named by Cortes either San Miguel or San Christoval, but on his own map is appears as Las Perlas. Further identification I consider certain from the misplaced passage in the Preciado account, in which the Las Perlas island referred to is almost certainly Espiritu Santo. Furthermore, at the end of Chapter VI, Preciado refers to the Isla de Perlas in the same way as Ulloa. In the translation Hakluyt has an interpolation. His passage reads as follows: "called Isla de perlas lying over against *the point of California supposed to be* firme land." The words in italics are interpolated.

[12] Probably what is now known as San Lorenzo channel, but it might have been the sand-bar on the south end of the island, where the vessel grounded.

[13] Preciado only mentions taking on water, but says they were there five days.

there[14] all destroyed, and without a sign of a house or anything else of what we had left, except some pieces of pottery and demijohns which were lying about. Everything was burned, as the posts of the houses showed, which we found underground. We found certain campsites, abandoned many days before, it seemed, at a distance from this camp, and somewhat inland on the river.[15]

Seeing that the ship we had come in search of was not in the port, nor had arrived there in the two days we were there, nor in the eight we were before the entrance to this port, and that during this time there had been some weather favorable to her coming, we weighed on September 10[16] and stood away for the rivers San Pedro and San Pablo, to see if we could find her in either of them or along the coast. We arrived off the said rivers at noon, the 12th of the said month.

Seeing that the ship was not in these rivers of San Pedro and San Pablo,[17] we continued on our way along the coast, northward, running in and out, as the contour of the coast required.

Eight leagues beyond these rivers we found a very large river with two mouths,[18] which poured a very great quantity of white water

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[14] After considerable study of the question I have come to the conclusion that the port of Santa Cruz is the small harbor now known as Pichilingue harbor, which lies to the eastward of the island called San Juan Nepomuceno. The entrance is from the south, and there is plenty of water in the harbor for vessels of considerable size. It would appear from Ulloa's description of the camp that the site of Cortes' settlement had been on the mainland opposite the island, probably at the mouth of the ravine in which there is still to be found a well of water. [Mexico and Central American Pilot, 1920 edition.]

At the time José de Galvez was in California in 1768, a plan of the port of La Paz was drawn by Joseph de Urrutia, which can be found attached to the papers concerning the expedition in the Archives of the Indies, 104-3-2 (1). On this map or plan, the small harbor above referred to is marked "Puerto de Cortes," and the island, "Isla de Cortes".

[15] So far as I have been able to discover, there is nothing that resembles a river anywhere in the neighborhood of La Paz bay, but probably during the rainy season, or perhaps better said, when it rains, water may come down from the Cacachilas mountains through the ravine referred to in the preceding note.

[16] Preciado says September 12, in this case an error.

[17] The San Pedro y San Pablo is very easily identified as the river Sinaloa by the island at the mouth which divides the stream. The name appears on Cortes' own map, being the most northern name shown on the Sinaloa coast. Very likely he or some of his men named it, although it had previously been named by Guzman's explorers the Petatlan.

It will be noted that the second of the *actas* at the end of the document is not really an act of possession but a declaration that Ulloa commenced his explorations at that point, which would seem to indicate that Cortes was not aware of the explorations of Diego de Guzman made in 1533 north as far as the Yaqui river. The *acta* puts the latitude in 26½° and states that it was done on September 10. The actual latitude is about 25°15′, indicating that already the latitudes were in error 1¼ degrees.

[18] Apparently the Fuerte, the real mouth of which is in 25°55′. The Fuerte has only one mouth, although it now empties on both sides of a sand island in front of it; but he probably considered that either the Oguirre, a short distance south, or the Alamos, a short distance north, was one of the mouths of the river. Preciado says that they looked as large as the Guadalquivir at Seville.

into the sea, in such amount that it was distinguishable four or five leagues out to sea. According to the men who tried it, it tasted not as salty as sea water. Here they made us a smoke signal, but we paid no attention to it, for it semed to us that is was very near the rivers of San Pedro and San Pablo; it was already known what sort their inhabitants were,[19] and we did not wish to lose the wind, which was fair and favorable to continuance of our voyage. This river is in latitude 27¼°. We named it Rio de Nuestra Señora,[20] for we found it on Our Lady's day. We went on, on the same courses, and sixteen leagues beyond this river, we found an open bay which the land formed, and we desired to enter, to see it and to see what there was inside, and we could not come up within two leagues of the land, for the sea was so shallow that there was not more than a fathom or a fathom and a half [of water]. Seeing that we could not bring the ships nearer, I sent a boat with certain seamen and landsmen to see it, and they saw it was a bay, as above stated. It had within it three large estuaries, full of mangroves, which estuaries led into the land. One entered toward the east, another toward the northeast, and the other toward the north-northeast. We called it Los Esteros de la Cruz †,[21] because it is near a high hill which we had so named the day before. It will be recognized by these estuaries and by its latitude, which is 28°.

This day we saw ten or twelve Indians on the shore. Because of the distance we could not see what sort they were, but they seemed to us to be naked people. At night they made us two or three fire signals on the coast. This same night, before midnight, we weighed, continuing the same course.[22]

Twenty-five leagues forward of these estuaries we came upon the mouth of a river or lake or inlet, and it, too, poured white water into the sea. I think it is a river, rather than anything else, because there were some big, dry trees across the mouth, which are probably those it brings down when it runs high. We wished to enter this river but found no channel. It seemed to us to carry a good volume of water.

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[19] His statement, which is not found in Preciado, would indicate that the previous explorations of Cortes had reached as far as this. Hurtado de Mendoza seems to have been killed on this river.

[20] Not mentioned by Preciado.

[21] Apparently the Mayo, which empties into the gulf just east of Cape Rosa in latitude 26°40′. This cape is apparently the one referred to by Preciado as "Capo Roxo". In the Italian it is put at 29¾°, but Hakluyt corrects it to 27¾°.

Preciado's account of the course from San Pablo y San Pedro to Guaymas is not very clear, although much more detailed than the one given by Ulloa.

[22] Preciado mentions an island about a league in circumference, evidently the Isla de Lobos.

It is in latitude full 29°. They made us a smoke signal. We called this river San Francisco,[23] for we saw it on Saint Francis' day, or the evening before.[24]

We went forward along the coast on our course, and eighteen leagues beyond this river we found a port which is the best seen to this day, according to all the seamen in this armada, and even according to the landsmen. We went into this port to see it and to see what there was in it. Once inside we saw another estuary which ran inland more than two leagues toward the north. The entrance is very deep and clean and clear. Once inside, this harbor is enclosed on all sides, and so sheltered from the sea that except from near the entrance, the sea cannot be seen within it. It has five or six fathoms of water everywhere, and a very clean sandy bottom, all of the same depth and cleanliness. This principal harbor has within it many other ports and indentations, as large as itself, as deep and as clean. They are such and so excellent that as many ships as it may be desired to anchor can lie here safely with any cable, no matter how slender. Because of these secondary ports we called this harbor El Puerto de los Puertos [the Port of Ports],[25] and the bay in which it is, La Bahia de la Posesion [the bay of Possession], for here was taken the first possession we took for your lordship upon this voyage.

This harbor has two entrance channels, formed by an island at the mouth of it, both of them very clear and deep and clean. One enters north-south and the other east-west. It can be identified by the bay in which it lies, which is indeed large and pronounced, and by its latitude, which is 29¾°.[26]

We were in it, examining it, for two days, and we saw no people nor sign of any except some old charcoal which was on the beach, charred many days before. While we were exploring the ports within this port in one of them we found two or three campsites, abandoned many days previously, of the same sort as those of the Indians of the port and bay of Santa Cruz, where your lordship was. A little narrow,

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[23] I have always considered this to be the Yaqui river, although the distances mentioned in the narrative to it and from it are very wide of the actual ones. The distances given agree much better with the old mouth of the Mayo river located in 27°10′. Undoubtedly the Mayo river at one time emptied at that point, and I think it has changed its course in comparatively recent years. It must not be forgotten that this was the rainy season in Sonora and Sinaloa, and the rivers were full of water.

[24] i.e. September 17.

[25] Ulloa gives a very good description here of what is considered to be the port of Guaymas by all commentators on the voyage.

[26] Pajaros island in the harbor is in the actual latitude of 27°53′, Ulloa's error in latitude being increased here to over 1¾ degrees.

little used path, came up to them, from the interior. In these camps we found half a clay pot.

The character of the land around this port, and of all we could see of it, is poor—very poor.[27] Perhaps it is because it is all high mountain ranges, of rock, bare, without trees or green, except some cactus[28] and shrubs of the kind which grow around the bay and port of Santa Cruz †. Seeing that there were no people in this port, nor did it seem likely that the interior was inhabited by people different from those the campsites suggested, I took possession for your lordship, and we went on, in order to make the most of the wind, which was favorable.

The land we left behind, from the rivers of San Pedro and San Pablo to this Puerto de los Puertos—sixty-two leagues—is very low land, sandy, with few hills, and what hills there are are very small. The sea is not very deep; a league and two leagues from shore we did not find in all this way more than eight to fifteen fathoms.

We weighed from this Puerto de los Puertos on Friday, September 19, sailing north, in and out, as the contour of the coast guided us; and seventeen leagues from this Puerto de los Puertos we found a little island, small and uninhabited, which is a league or two from the mainland, in latitude full 30°.[29]

Following the said course, thirty leagues beyond this little island, we entered into a strait formed by the mainland and an uninhabited island, which was four leagues wide and twelve long. There is very deep water between it and the mainland. It lies in latitude 31°. At

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[27] Curiously enough, Ulloa merely mentions the fact that he took possession, which we learn from the *acta* at the end of the document was done on September 18. In the *acta* the latitude is placed at 29⅔°. Preciado's account of this harbor, or rather its surroundings, is much different from that of Ulloa. He says that the country was full of fresh and green grass, and within they saw very great and very green mountains. He adds that in taking possession a cross was set up upon the hill by Francisco Preciado, by command of the captain.

[28] Spanish—*cardon*. This is the first instance which I have seen of the name *cardon* being applied to cactus. Later the word was, and still is, in use in Lower California to designate the giant cactus, or other varieties similar to it. Ulloa had undoubtedly seen the giant cactus while in California with Cortes, as whole forests of them occur within a short distance of La Paz. When and where the word *cardon* originated I have not been able to discover. When the Spaniards first came across the tuna in Santo Domingo they said it was a kind of *cardo*, which is the Spanish name for thistle. A *cardon*, of course, is a big thistle, and it may have only been applied to the very large cactus of the giant variety, or more likely at that period, to any columnar cactus.

There is evidence to the effect that one of the names applied to California when first discovered was "Isla de Cardon", or "Isla de Cardones", a name eminently appropriate considering the immense number of giant cactuses to be found on the peninsula, and especially at no great distance from La Paz.

[29] Probably San Pedro Nolasco, actually in 27°58′. Preciado also mentions it.

its entrance there are two little islets. We named it San Miguel strait,[30] for we passed through it on Saint Michael's day.[31]

Having passed through this strait, following the said course for thirty leagues,[32] in latitude 32¾° we saw at sea six or seven white, high, sharp rocks for which reason we named them Los Diamantes [the Diamonds].[33]

Four or five leagues past them we commenced to find the water white, like river water, and as we sailed through this water, we saw land to the southwest, eight or nine leagues from us. Thinking that it was an island, we went to it to see it and to learn what it was. The nearer we came to it, the less depth we got, to such extent that we found ourselves in four or five fathoms, and the sea all reddish and turned to mud. Because the water was shallow where we were, and the water turbid, we anchored, to find a way to draw nearer that land. We did not find it, nor could we get nearer than we were, which was more than two leagues away. Therefore, this same day, it being then late, we turned back to the mainland, to see if between it and this other land we might find deep water, in order to continue on.

We found a channel two leagues from the mainland, eight fathoms deep, into which its two tides flooded every twenty-four hours, in their

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[30] From Ulloa's somewhat limited description it appears that what he calls the strait of San Miguel was that which exists between the islands of Angel de la Guarda and Tiburon, the latter of which he took for the mainland. What the two little islands at the entrance could be is hard to say, unless they were the islands of San Esteban and San Lorenzo, which, however, could hardly be called small islands. The southwest point of Tiburon island is in 28°51′, and the south point of Angel de la Guarda is about 29°.

[31] i.e. September 29, although he was probably there on September 22 or 23.

[32] Preciado's account of this portion of the journey is quite different. He tells us that after leaving Guaymas they began to see plainly the western shore; some thought it was the coast of Santa Cruz, that is, a continuation of it, while others thought that it was nothing but islands. Before reaching the strait they passed some point which he called "Cape Capo de las Plaias," that is to say, "the cape of the beaches", a quite unintelligible expression. Nevertheless it so appears on the maps. Ramusio calls it "Capo delle piaghe," Herrera, "Cabo de las Llagas," i.e. "cape of wounds"—a correct translation of the Italian, which that of Hakluyt is not. Nevertheless it seems likely that Preciado in his Spanish used the word *playas*, meaning beaches, and Ramusio by error translated it *piaghe* instead of *piaggie*, which means beaches or the open sea in front of a beach where vessels might ride. Speaking of the strait, he says it was twelve leagues broad, that it had two islands in the middle, four leagues distant one from the other, and that the strait was very deep, which is a fact. After leaving this strait he mentions a bay which extended six leagues into the land, probably that which is now known as Tepopo bay, just north of Tiburon island.

[33] From the description given by Preciado it appears likely that Los Diamantes was St. George's island, which is in about 31° of latitude. Preciado does not give these rocks a name, but in a marginal note Hakluyt has *Small rocks called Los Diamantes*, a statement no doubt obtained from the heading to Chapter 3 in Ramusio. This indicates that Ramusio had some other source of information, unless the chapter heading was taken from the original.

order, flood and ebb, without falling off a jot, and with a flood and an ebb current so strong it was marvellous. When the tide ran out it left dry, and when it flooded it covered more than two leagues which lay between where we were and the mainland. We anchored in this channel, because it was late to go forward, in order next day to see what thing this was and where it ended.

The next day, Monday, September 28, we wished to continue on, but as the day dawned, it being low tide, we saw the whole sea where we must pass, between one land and the other, closed with shoals, and in addition to this we saw, between one land and the other, many summits of mountains,[34] the bases of which we could not see for the earth's curvature. Since, for these reasons, we could not go ahead, I landed on a sand bar which was nearby, and took possession for your lordship. This done, we came out of that channel[35] with the tide, and stood away southwest, to pass around the land which we saw there, in order to continue our voyage on the other side of it, etc.

This inlet and reddish sea are in 34°.[36] We named it the Ancon[37]

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[34] Looking up the Colorado river, which here runs southeast, one can readily see the California mountains in the distance.

[35] The channel in which Ulloa anchored is probably the one near the Sonora shore, which is apparently still the main channel of the river. Just where he took possession it is difficult to say, but possibly on Gore island or near there. Montague island, just opposite Gore island is in 31°45′. The *acta* of possession puts the latitude at 33½°, and was made September 28.

[36] Hakluyt has this marginal note on page 225 [edition of 1904]: "This current is in 32 degrees and the sea is white and red."

[37] The word *ancon* is usually translated as "bay", as defined in the modern dictionaries, but in the sixteenth century it was not used as synonymous with bay, but rather meant a tidal channel connecting one body of water—the sea for example—with another body. Perceval, in the Minsheu edition of 1599 of his English-Spanish dictionary, defines *ancon* as "the breaking in of the sea on the land into a creeke." J. N. Baskett, on pages 257-8 of Vol. X of the *Texas Historical Society Quarterly*, has examined the subject and deduced its meaning, from Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca, as more or less synonymous with the "pass" so familiar on the Gulf coast. The old writers did not always, however, make such a fine distinction, and the word frequently occurs as synonymous with estuary, that is, the tidal body of water at the mouth of a river. Ulloa apparently used the word in the latter sense, as there is nothing to show that he knew of any body of water with which it connected inland. Preciado, however, says, "It seemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes whereby the Sea went in and out. There were divers opinions amongst us, and some thought that that current entered into those lakes, and also that some great River there might be the cause thereof. And when we could perceive no passage through, nor could discern the countrey to be inhabited . . ." It may be noted that Ulloa was there during the period of low water in the river.

de San Andres and Mar Bermejo,[38] because it is that color and we arrived there on Saint Andrew's day.[39]

It is 104 leagues from El Puerto de los Puertos. The character of the land—of that land which comes down to the sea—is poor, very poor. It may be because for sixty leagues beyond El Puerto de los Puertos it is very high land, all stone—sheer rocks—without any verdure or green thing. The sea off these coasts is quite deep. The rest of the country, as far as the Ancon de San Andres and Mar Bermejo, is very level land, all sand, and the sea shallow one and two leagues off shore. In all these 104 leagues we did not see a person, or sign of any. I do not believe that such land can be inhabited. We weighed from Ancon de San Andres and Mar Bermejo on Sunday, September 28, and stood away southeast, to make around the land, in which direction we had to seek a passage on the other side of it, to continue our voyage.

On the same course and coast,[40] thirty-six leagues from this *ancon* and Mar Bermejo, four leagues ahead of where we were we saw what looked like a very large smoke signal; and because we were all desirous of seeing the people of these lands, believing this to be a smoke signal, in order to see what sort of people they were who made it we took careful note of its situation, and next day stood away for it. When we had arrived at the place, according to the observation we had taken, we found a very large bay which had a high sandy islet at the mouth

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[38] Neither Ulloa nor Preciado speaks of the two mouths of the Colorado east and west of Montague island, but they certainly observed them, as the maps plainly show them both. The changes in the delta of the Colorado are so continuous that it would be difficult to picture just the exact topography in 1539. Perhaps Gore island did not exist; perhaps not even Montague island. If we could consider the condition unchanged since then, it would appear that Ulloa anchored near the head of Montague island opposite that part of the Sonora shore subject to overflow at high tide, as he states. Nevertheless, as neither the Cabot nor the Agnese map shows the island there, it is evident that Ulloa did not sail far enough up the channel to see that the land on the left was an island.

On the Agnese map, just above the mouth of the river is a legend which translated states: "The Red sea where in the channel at high tide there are 11 *brazos* and at low tide 8." Preciado mentions the eleven fathoms as apparently the depth of water in the channel at low tide, but in view of Ulloa's statement that at low tide there were eight fathoms of water in the channel, it is probable that Preciado meant to say that at high tide there were eleven fathoms. Ulloa's map probably had some legend similar to that of Agnese.

[39] I do not understand what he means about St. Andrew's day, as the day of San Andres is actually November 30. Preciado does not record the name given.

[40] In latitude 31°30′ there is a circular bay, which appears on the U. S. charts as "Ometepes bay". No mention is made of this by either Ulloa or Preciado, but on the maps there appears at about this point a "Puerto Escondido", which may possibly have appeared upon Ulloa's map, as very likely they saw the bay.

of it, off which we anchored.[41] In a boat I entered between the islet and the bay, and went to the place where we had located the smoke signal. While we were in the bay we saw another smoke signal where the first had been, and very near to us, on the same hill which was at the mouth of the bay. We were all astounded to see the smoke, and not to see fire nor people who had made it. We thought it must be some volcano, and I wanted to go up to it to see. While we were looking over the bay and reconnoitring to see if there were any people who might do me damage, I saw in my presence and in that of all those who were with me, a great lot of sand fall from the hill at the mouth of the bay, and the dust it raised ascended so high and so dark that truly it looked like smoke.

Seeing that this was what we had thought was a smoke signal, but was none such, nor were there any people, nor possibility that the land was inhabited, for it seemed to us to be very dry and sterile and without any virtue or verdure, since it was all very high ranges of the sort of stone of which they make knives in New Spain, and seeing that it was not smoke which had seemed smoke to us, nor was there any likelihood of there being people in the land, I spent this day exploring this bay and observing the character of it.

I found it to be a port as fine and big as could be. Once inside, it is so closed in on all sides that the sea is not visible. The bottom is clean and of any depth they wish to seek, who enter it. It has two large clean entrances, free of obstacles, formed by the island. Inside we found so many seals that were I to say there were a hundred thousand, I think I would not be exaggerating.[42] For this reason we called it El Puerto de los Lobos [the port of the Seals]. One entrance bears northwest-southeast and the other northeast-south-southwest. It can be identified by the latitude in which it lies, which is 31½°,[43] and by the sand islet at its mouth, which makes it so good a port. This islet is high and noticeable.

The character of the land from Ancon de San Andres and Mar Bermejo, whence we stood away for this port, is high, bare, of wretched aspect without any verdure. The sea is deep.

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[41] Almost certainly the bay of San Luis Gonzaga, or, as it appears on the U. S. charts, San Luis Gonzales. At the north end of the bay appears, on chart number 619 of the Hydrographic Office of the U. S. Navy, a small island corresponding to that described by Ulloa, the eastern end of which is called Willard point. The dust to which he refers was no doubt volcanic dust, which has been noted on many of the islands in this part of the gulf. This chart is the only one that I have seen that shows this island.

[42] Preciado enlarges on this seal story.

[43] The island is in about 29°48′, indicating an error in Ulloa's latitude of a little over 1½ degrees.

While we were riding this night off the mouth of this bay, above described, waiting for wind to sail in continuance of our voyage, we saw a fire two leagues from where we were. Therefore I delayed, where I was anchored, until next day, in order to go see the people who had built it. As soon as day broke—it was October 3—I went there in a boat, and, having arrived at the place where the fire was, before we landed we saw that there were on the shore an old man and another young man, with three or four boys.[44]

Seeing that we were approaching them, the young man demanded his bows and some arrows of one of the boys, which he had left at a little distance. When the boy had fetched them, he took the bow and tried it, apparently to see if it were strung. He and the rest stood still where they were, without any harm or fear, although we were coming close to them. Seeing them so assured, we thought that they must not be alone, but rather had some ambuscade laid, and that their assurance was a ruse. Therefore we chose not to land near them, although we might have done so. Instead, we drew away to another place, in order to reconnoitre a gully where they were, and certain bushes back of them. When we had so reconnoitred we landed and went toward them. They stood still until we had come to twenty or thirty paces from where they were.

Seeing us so near, they arose, and the old man came toward us, placing his hand before his eyes, like one who protects his sight from the sun. The rest began to flee up a high hill, and presently the old man started after them. We seized him, to see him, and what manner of men he and the rest were, and to see if he could understand the Indian we brought from the port and bay of Santa Cruz. He spoke another language[45] and the rest were naked people, without any clothing or garments or covering. Their hair was cut two or three fingers long.

They had a little enclosure of woven grass without any cover over the top, where they lodged, ten or twelve paces from the sea. We found inside no sort of bread nor anything resembling it, nor any other food, except fish, of which they had some which they had killed with cords which they had—well twisted—and with some thick hooks made of tortoise shell bent in fire, and with others, smaller, made of thorns. They kept their drinking water in certain skin pouches, which we thought must be the stomachs of seals.

They had a little raft which they must have used in fishing. It

[44] This settlement was probably at or near the mouth of the arroyo usually known as Calamujuet, which runs into the south part of the bay and is about the distance away from the anchorage indicated by Ulloa.

[45] These Indians were Cochimies and spoke a very different language from the Indians near La Paz bay.

was made of canes tied in three bundles, each part tied up separately, and then all tied together, the middle section being larger than the laterals. They rowed it with a slender oar, little more than half a fathom long, and two small paddles, badly made, one at each end.

We judged that these people were nomads, possessed of little intelligence.

Seeing that they were of this quality and that we could not by any means learn from them anything concerning the land, we released him and gave him back everything that was in their camp, and other things we carried, and he returned to his people. We embarked to return to our ships which were more than two leagues out. When we had drawn off hardly a bowshot from where they were, two of the boys who had fled came down to the shore to draw the raft into safety. We arrived at our ships quite late, and tired, and after difficulty, for the wind blew hard against us and the sea grew very rough. In this camp where these Indians were there were rabbits and hares [46] and coyotes.[47]

No less worry and weariness did we have this day on account of the ship Trinidad, which stood away before daybreak to continue on our course, as on other occasions we were wont to do. Because she was at some distance from the vessel in which I was, she did not see the fire that I saw, nor did I have a chance to inform her of it. Therefore she kept on, thinking that I also was continuing on the course, and she was lost from view. I thought that she saw me remaining behind, and that she would return, although she had the wind against her, and that to do so she was standing out to sea in order to turn and come up along the coast with the seabreeze. Therefore I did not wish to go after her, and so not go to see the Indians. After I returned aboard I did not wish to sail, in order not to miss her in the night.

Next day, October 4, we sailed on our voyage southeast to find the ship. We followed along the coast, in and out, according to its contour. It was so dark this day, so thick and foggy, that we could not have seen the ship even had we been close upon her, nor could she have seen the vessel in which I was. Therefore, I hardly sailed at all this day, or night, in order not to miss her. The following day and night it was the same sort and manner of weather, and neither did we sail. The third day dawned dry and clear and Our Lord was pleased to permit us to find the ship. We came together again and I spoke those who were

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[46] Spanish—*lievres,* which is usually translated "hares". It seems probable that these were the well known jackrabbit.

[47] Spanish—*adibes,* which in the old dictionaries is defined as "a kind of Barbary dog which howls in the night". They were undoubtedly coyotes, and it seems curious that Ulloa did not know them under their Mexican name of *coyotl,* or *coyote,* as in a corrupted form the Spaniards called them.

aboard her, blaming them for having been careless and for having sailed without me. They gave as their excuse the understanding above set forth. I warned them not to be careless in the future, and we continued on our voyage.

On the same course,[48] ten leagues from this Puerto de los Lobos we came upon an uninhabited island which was about fifteen leagues long and six wide.[49] It lies parallel with the mainland, two or three leagues away. It is the same sort of land as the mainland, and belongs to it.[50] In the mainland there is a great bay,[51] in which we anchored, to take possession there and to see if there were any people different from those we had seen, and to see if in a river which empties there, there was water we could take, for we were in need of water.

We found no people, only some few traces, many days old, nor did we find water we could take. I took possession for your lordship and we reembarked to continue our voyage.[52] This bay is in latitude 30½°. We named it the bay of San Marcos, for we arrived there on Saint Mark's day.[53]

From this bay to El Puerto de los Lobos, whence we weighed when the ship was lost, as above described, it is twenty leagues. At night we saw some fires, far apart. The character of the land is the same as the preceding, and the sea is deep.

While we were anchored in this bay of San Marcos, awaiting wind to sail, we saw two fires, more than a league apart, and in order to see the people who built them, we remained without making sail the next day, and went to see them. Arriving where one of the fires was, when we were still a bowshot away from the place we saw two men—tall and naked and of good appearance—with bows and arrows in their

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[48] i.e. southeast.

[49] Angel de la Guarda.

[50] Spanish—*esta prolongada con la tiera firme a dos y a tres leguas de ancho y esta en termino de la tiera de la tiera firme y della y en la tiera firme vna muy grand baya.*

[51] Probably what is know as Los Angeles bay, which is actually in about 28°55′. It is possible, of course, that they anchored in the upper part of this bay, just west of Smith's island, or in about 29°3′, or even in Remedios bay, which is in about 29°13′. I think this latter possible because as Ulloa goes south his errors in latitude diminish, and 1 degree 20 minutes of error is more in accord with his usual errors than the 1 degree 35 minutes which would be the case if the landing was in the bay of Los Angeles. There is nothing in the description to identify more closely the place, except possibly the subsequent remark that they sailed six or seven leagues from this bay before they disembogued between the island and the mainland. This latter statement would perhaps indicate that their landing place was in Remedios bay.

[52] The *acta* gives the date as October 6, although the day of San Marcos was October 7.

[53] Preciado by mistake calls this the Ancon de San Andres, in which he is followed by Herrera.

hands. When they saw that we were approaching them, they went behind some stakes where they lived, making as though they were squatting and hiding, to lie in wait for us. They did this to delay our landing, while they got away and placed their women and children in safety.

Seeing that we drew near, to land, they fled up a hill, where they lived in two enclosures made like the others we had seen. In them were tracks of ten or twelve persons, some small and some large, who were probably their women and children. Here we found no sort of bread nor anything resembling it. They kept their drinking water in the stomachs of fish. We found a bowl like the small ones found among the people of the bay and port of Santa Cruz, which led us to conclude that this land and people are all one.

We went some distance inland to see the character of the country, and to see if there were more people in addition to those we had seen. We saw none, nor any better country than that left behind us. There were some trails which ran along the coast, narrow and little travelled. There were rabbits and hares and many tracks of coyotes. Having seen these things, as related in this paragraph, we returned to take boat again for our ships, and to sail, which we could not do that day, for the wind was contrary.

Then, next day, Wednesday, October 8, with little wind, and calms sometimes, we stood away between this land and the island, sailing on a southeast course. After six or seven leagues we disembogued between this land and another.[54]

Six leagues farther on we found another uninhabited island, which measures nine leagues long and five wide, and is five or six leagues from the mainland.[55] There are two or three other little islets between this island and the one behind at San Marcos bay.

Eighteen or nineteen leagues farther on, we found another uninhabited island, which is five or six leagues long, and two or three wide,[56] and four leagues beyond this, another of the same sort and size.[57]

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[54] At this point Preciado says that they began to fear that they were going to return to Santa Cruz without finding any strait.

[55] This appears to have been San Lorenzo and its northern extension known as "White Rock", chiefly because Preciado says that opposite was a great bay [i.e. San Rafael] and before it a point which stretched far into the sea,' [i.e. San Francisquito point].

[56] Unless this is Tortuga island there appears to be a mistake in the narrative, as the next island is certainly San Marcos.

[57] San Marcos island without doubt.

On Sunday at dawn,[58] being between this island and the mainland, a man came out from the mainland on a raft towards the ship. He came a crossbowshot out from land, and, arrived at this distance, stood up, on his raft, and remained there, still, looking at our ships. Presently, after he had looked them over, he spoke certain words in a loud voice, and returned whence he had come. A little while after, he came out again from where he had gone, and four others with him, on four more rafts. Talking among themselves, they came half again nearer than he had come who came the first time, and he who had come the first time, led the way. Having arrived at this distance, they began to shout in a language which the Indian we brought from the port and bay of Santa Cruz did not understand, nor did they understand him. So they remained a long time without being willing to come nearer, although we called them by signs and showed them things to barter and to give them, to which they paid little heed.

Seeing that they would not come up, and that they were returning whence they had come, I went out after them in a boat, to see if I could take some one of them, to give him things and release him. I overtook the one who seemed to be of more importance than the others, for he was the one who came nearest and talked the most—the one who had come out first on the first raft—and when we came up with him he left his raft and dived into the sea and swam. I kept after him for more than half an hour, and could not capture him, for every time the boat reached him, he dived under the bow and after quite a while came up beyond the stern. Although we exerted ourselves to turn the boat quickly and go after him again, he had meanwhile rested, floating on the water, in order to do the same thing again; and so he kept it up with good spirit and without weakening in the least, until he had tired us out, so those who rowed the boat could no longer start it going. His companions came to his assistance on the other rafts, and seeing that we could not take him, I returned to the ships.[59]

He and the others whom this day we saw on the rafts and on land—eight or ten men—were naked people, of good appearance. Their hair was trimmed two or three fingers long. Among them all they had two or three bows with arrows. The rafts of canes on which they came out were larger than the first which I have described above,

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[58] Preciado: "On Sunday the twelfth of October we found ourselves altogether inclosed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compassed us before and behinde, and on the left hand with an Island of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Island in the midst of the sea there lay a small Islet, and also betweene the sayd maine and the Island there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a passage whereby afterward we passed through."

[59] Preciado relates this episode as occurring on October 12.

but of the same make and style. They rowed with the same sort of sticks and paddles.

We remained this day in this vicinity, for we had not the wind to proceed. The Indians walked about upon the beach. They made us a smoke signal, and a fire at night.

This channel, between this island and the mainland where these Indians were, is in latitude 28 2/3°,[60] and we called it Pasaje de Belen [Bethlehem passage], because when the Indian called to his companions for help, he said: *"Belen!"*

It is thirty-six leagues from this Pasaje de Belen to San Marcos bay,[61] behind it. At night while between San Marcos bay and Pasaje de Belen we saw a few fires, far apart. The character of the land is poor, like the preceding, except in the vicinity where these Indians were, where there appeared to be a little more verdure, etc.

Seeing that these people and those whom we had seen previously were all of one kind, and that this land and the bay of Santa Cruz also were all one, to judge by the appearance of the people and the trend of the land, and its appearance, and finding ourselves so near it, and thinking it likely that between it and where we were there could not be anything of any more account, we stood away for there, on a southwest[62] course, running in and out, as the contour of the coast required.

We weighed from Pasaje de Belen on October 13, and arrived at the port and bay of Santa Cruz on the 19th of the said month. Between Pasaje de Belen and this place there are some little uninhabited islands of wretched aspect, and of the size which your lordship will see by this map. At night we saw some fires ashore—few and far apart, like the preceding. The land showed a little more verdure, and the nearer we came to the port and bay of Santa Cruz, the greener the land looked to us.

[As the account given by Ulloa in the two preceding paragraphs is very brief and omits to take notice of one of the essential facts about the expedition, I will insert that part of Chapter VI of the Preciado account which covers the interval between October 13 and October 19.

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[60] This place was probably what is now known as St. Lucas cove, in about 27°10′.

[61] As at this point Ulloa states that it is thirty-six leagues from San Marcos to this place, and his difference in latitude is 1 degree 50 minutes, this would indicate that his league was about twenty leagues to a degree, or, as at this point the coast runs a little east of south, seventeen and one-half to the degree, the usual marine Spanish league of the sixteenth century.

[62] In the original it is plainly southwest, probably an error, as the general trend of the coast on the east side of the peninsula is consistently a little east of south.

The Preciado account also contains some interesting references to the stay at Santa Cruz.]

At our comming out of these openings[63] we began to finde a Bay[64] with a very great haven, environed with divers small hilles having upon them greene woods and pleasant to behold. In this bay and strand were two small Islands neere unto the shore, one of which was like unto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands served us onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, having but a slacke wind on Munday morning: all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point[65] of the sayd haven; and on Tewesday at breake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this haven; but about midnight wee began to have a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seven leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small woody hilles, and within the other point which was before descried, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delightsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the uttermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by evening between seven and eight leagues, and came over against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into every of which a river seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with five or sixe men went on shore, and taking possession[66] passed up one of those rivers, and found the footing of many Indians upon the sand. On the bankes of that river they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees,[67] and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes,[68] which are a kind of dogs. The same night wee set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made us to strike our foresayle; and on the sixeteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere unto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being sixe or seven leagues off. The land seemed to bee very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we drew neere to the

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[63] In Chapter 5, just preceding this account, Preciado says that as they came out of the channel between the island and the mainland, they saw on land some high green grass. The pilot went up into the top and saw the mouth of a river that ran through this green country. They did not stop, as the Admiral—that is, the Trinidad—was under sail far away. I think without doubt this refers to the river Molejé, or Santa Rosalia, as it is usually called.

[64] The bay referred to here was without doubt Concepcion bay. There are a number of islands near the entrance, but it is impossible to say to which particular ones he refers.

[65] Point Concepcion.

[66] From the description of this place as well as the position it seems certain that it was Loreto, in 26°12′. Preciado mentions the taking of possession, which according to the *acta* was done October 15 and the place was named "Carrizal", i.e. the place of canes. The latitude was placed in the *acta* as in 27½°.

[67] Italian—*cerase & di piccioli pomi*. The *piccioli pomi* was probably in Preciado's Spanish "manzanita," a shrub which is quite common in Lower California.

[68] i.e. coyotes.

port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were sory, because we were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that land, and that the same port was the same out-let, and also that by the sayd coast we might returne to the foresayd haven of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, because we had not certainely sought out the secret, whether that were a Streit or a river, which we had left behind us unsearched at the bottome of this great sea or gulfe.

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scant winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we saw before and behinde foure or five great and small Islands. The land was very mountainous, part whereof was covered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hils, and in this place we were come neere unto the haven of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be divided in the very nooke by some streite or great river which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not thoroughly discovered, all of us that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieved. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the haven of Acapulco, which standeth in seventeene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hand, untill we came to the great current of the white & red sea: and here (as I have said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a river or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed up without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, untill wee returned unto the sayd haven of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant countrey and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in fresh water at the haven of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Westerne coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested ourselves, and eat of the plummes[69] and fruits called Pithaias.[70] [This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of pearles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all covered over with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side],[71] and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selves all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselves. Our captaine determined to divide amongst us certain garments of taffata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of taffata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on

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[69] Italian—*prune*, presumably the *ciruela* (*Tapirira edulis*), a small yellow plum which has a kernel similar in taste to the pistachio nut.

[70] Italian the same. This is the earliest reference which I have seen to the *pitahaya*, although if we had the accounts of the Cortes expedition to California we no doubt would have an earlier reference. It was probably the *pitahaya agria* (*Lamaireocereus gummosus*), which ripens at this season of the year.

[71] The clause in brackets is taken from the following chapter, in which it was evidently misplaced, as it has no connection with anything that goes before or after in that chapter. The sentence quoted is immediately followed by the words "and wee entred into the Porte of Santa Cruz".

When I first read the account of this voyage in Ramusio, this sentence in Chapter 7 puzzled me greatly, as it seemed to indicate that there was a port of Santa Cruz on the west side of the peninsula where the vessels were, so far as I could make out from Preciado's confused narrative. In the first number of the *Quarterly*, as a result of this confusion, I suggested the possibility of there being two ports of Santa Cruz. Ulloa's narrative is perfectly clear, however, and the vessels were actually some miles north of Cape San Lucas on the west side. I have little hesitation, therefore, in asserting that in printing the original narrative in Ramusio this clause was in some way misplaced, and belongs where I place it. The day was Saturday, as Preciado states, and the island of pearls, as I have shown before, was Espiritu Santo, which they naturally saw on the left hand side as they were entering La Paz bay.

land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of us went out of our ship by night, and lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalva,[72] where we stayed untill noone betweene certaine secret wayes, and could never see or descrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ships, with two mastive-dogs which we carried with us to catch the Indians with more ease: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did: but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not: wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles,[73] and of the thornes and bryars, and because we were weary, we could never overtake them: they left behinde them certaine staves so finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

We remained in this port and bay of Santa Cruz from October 19, when we entered, to the 29th of the said month, taking on water and wood we needed, and timber for certain necessary repairs aboardship. During this time we made some expeditions inland and other efforts to capture some Indian from whom to learn something of the country, but we were unable to do so, because, inasmuch as they had suffered the first time we came there,[74] they retired into safety inland so that we could not get a man of them, etc.

We weighed from this port and bay of Santa Cruz on Wednesday, October 29, for the south coast, as your lordship ordered, and as we were leaving the port the pilot of the Trinidad was careless, and because of the current, which was then running to sea, he grounded the ship on one of the channel shoals. We expended some effort in an attempt to get her off at once, in order that she might not be damaged, but were unsuccessful, for the tide was ebbing. It ran out so quickly that she was left dry. Seeing that, for the time being, we could not

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[72] The endeavor to capture a couple of Indians, which is also mentioned by Ulloa, and the reason given therefor, seems to indicate that the Indian interpreter which they carried with them had not originally been taken from this place. Preciado's reference to the well of Grijalva is an indication that they landed at the site of Cortes' camp. It would be a matter of great interest to know from just where the Indian interpreters had been taken. The Indians on the south side of the bay of La Paz, in the mountains, spoke the Cora language, which was a dialect of the Guaycuru. The latter language was spoken by Indians who, so far as I can make out, lived in the low country around the south and west end of La Paz bay. Venegas, in Volume II, 385, says that Father Bravo, who spoke a little Guaycuru, could be understood by the Coras. The Jesuits give us a first account of the native languages and state that the Indians that lived on the islands of Cerralvo, Espiritu Santo and San José, were called "Isleños". Whether they spoke a different language from those on the mainland is not stated, nor whether they were of different race; but presumably there must have been some distinction to entitle them to a different name.

[73] *Cardoni* in Ramusio.

[74] The Indians were plainly not friendly, and here Ulloa gives us the reason for it, another indication that they were again on the site of Cortes' camp.

get her off, we propped her up on all sides that she might not fall over, until the tide should flood again, and so we held her up and brought her off at nine or ten at night. She had suffered no damage. We did not leave that night as soon as we had brought her off, although the wind was right, because we preferred to await daylight to see the way out more clearly. As soon as it was day we sailed and came out at our good pleasure.

As we were sailing with a favorable wind six or seven leagues beyond this port, between Santiago island[75] and the mainland, the wind blew contrary, and some rain fell, and we were this day and night beating between the island and the mainland. Seeing that we could not go forward, and that the wind and sea were rising, we returned to shelter at the point[76] which projects from this land to Perlas[77] island. The next day was better weather, more propitious to our voyage, and we made sail. On arriving at the same place between Santiago island and this mainland, the weather again turned rough and contrary, with the same rains, so that we hove to that night until next morning at daybreak, when we returned to the mainland coast, to seek an anchorage in which to anchor in order not to lose ground. While we were at anchor the wind and sea rose so that we were obliged to raise the anchor and seek shelter in the place whence we had first sailed. As we were setting out thither the wind changed, becoming favorable to our voyage, and with it we proceeded. As we were sailing, it shortly shifted again to contrary, and blew against our continuing, but suitable to our seeking said shelter.

Because the wind was unstable, changing quarter every little while, night caught us between this island of Santiago and the mainland. It was so dark and fearful, with wind and thunder, lightning and some rain, the wind at times contrary, now one way and now the other, that at times we thought we were going to be lost. Some said they saw Saint Elmo. Whatever it was I did see, I saw it on the Trinidad, which was where it appeared. It was a shining object, on the top of the main mast. I do not assert whether it was a saint, or some other thing, but whatever it was, devout thanks did it get, and Our Lord was pleased that shortly the weather improved and turned calm and clear and we came to shelter in the place where first we had sought it.[78]

We remained at anchor there the next day, without sailing, resting

[75] So named by Cortes, now called Cerralvo.

[76] San Lorenzo point.

[77] Espiritu Santo. This reference to Perlas island is sufficient to identify it beyond question with Espiritu Santo.

[78] The account given by Preciado of the movements of the vessels during this period of storms is extremely confused.

from the exertions of the night before. Having rested this day, as above stated, and seeing that the wind was somewhat propitious to our voyage, we sailed, with favoring wind, on Tuesday, November 4;[79] and we arrived in two days at the point of the other, south, coast of this land, which is fifty leagues from where we set out and in latitude full 23°.[80] All these lands are high and green, and at night we saw some fires.

Arriving at this point and in this latitude of 23°, whence we were to commence the exploration of this coast,[81] on Friday, November 7, we stood away on a northerly course, running in and out, as the contour of the coast required. With little wind and occasional calms, we sailed fifteen leagues in five days. During the night calms separated us, one from the other, and we regretted it greatly, for presently a little wind blew fresh, with some rain, and because the other ship was separated from the one in which I was, we remained quiet on the coast, to see if she would come up, as according to our reckoning, she was behind us.[82]

Seeing that the day was passing and she did not appear and that the sky was overcast, so much so that even were she only a short distance from us we could not see her, we stood out to sea, to see if we could discover her, or she us, and in order to burn lights at night, that she might come up, or we go to her, if she burned lights for us. We did not see her that day nor did she come to the lights that night. Next day, finding myself without her, I was in great tribulation, for

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[79] The text has September, an obvious error.

[80] Cape San Lucas, in 22°52′. At this point Ulloa's latitude is astonishingly close to accuracy, probably the latitude when the point was previously discovered having been taken by someone of greater skill than his pilots. The so-called Cortes map shows very plainly that the cape had been discovered either by him or by one of his captains.

[81] This is a further indication that Cape San Lucas had been previously discovered and that the northerly trend of the coast from this point had been previously ascertained.

[82] Preciado says that they sailed only ten leagues from November 9 to November 15. On the 10th of November, he states, they were fifty-four leagues distant from California, a little more or less, always on the southwest side. This is one of only three times in which the word "California" is used in Ramusio, and from it Professor Chapman argues that California was identical with the port of Santa Cruz, his reason being that Ulloa stated that at Cape San Lucas they were fifty leagues from where they set out [i.e. the port of Santa Cruz]. It seems most likely that both writers are referring to the same thing, and if we could be certain that Ramusio had not inserted the word "California" or changed some other name to that, the evidence that the port of Santa Cruz had another name, "California", would appear quite convincing. However, it is to be considered that Preciado uses the expression "port of Santa Cruz" continually, so we could hardly suppose California to be synonymous with it. Later, as we shall see, Ramusio refers twice to the "island of California."

Preciado, just after speaking of being fifty-four leagues distant from California, refers to the depth of water on the coast, and the sand-hills, and there then occurs the sentence referred to in Note 72, which appears to me to be misplaced.

the wind had blown a bit strong that night and it seemed to me that because of it we might become so separated that we would not get together again. Seeing that for three days it was calm, when day dawned and it grew light and she was not to be seen on all that coast nor at sea, I made my reckoning and found it reasonable to suppose that she was behind us. Although some of the seamen disagreed with my opinion, we turned back to find her, and Our Lord was pleased that when we had gone two leagues we found her. We came together again with much rejoicing among all, aboard our ship and also aboard the other one, which had felt not less apprehension than we had. We anchored this day near shore, for the wind was contrary.

We weighed next day, Friday, November 14, and as we sailed along the coast,[83] with little wind and occasional calms, the next Sunday we met a storm out of the north, in the face of which we returned to take shelter on the coast, for the land protected us somewhat. While we were so anchored the weather improved and the wind blew propitious to our voyage. We again weighed, and as we were beginning to sail we were struck by another storm, also out of the north, so violent that it did not permit us to return to the land to find shelter, but, on the contrary, carried us to sea and kept us there from Monday to Wednesday, by the fury of the gale. Thursday dawned fair, and so much so that we lay becalmed. We remained this day where the storm left us, the ships separated one from the other, unable to come together or to make any headway.

This night at midnight another storm blew up as violent as the preceding ones. It worried me greatly, because I had not my ships together, to keep them upon one course. The night was dark and tempestuous, and therefore each was obliged to go her own way, as the wind drove, and this we did. When day broke I found myself minus the other ship, and this afflicted me more sorely than had preceding similar occasions, for it seemed to me too much bad luck to lose her so many times, and I feared lest there might have befallen her some disaster such as is wont to happen in such weather.[84]

This day we beat back and forth, while the wind lasted, to see if we could see her, and that she might see us. Seeing that we did not

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[83] While at about this point, Preciado tells us, they saw an Indian in a canoe near the shore.

[84] From the 16th to the 24th, Preciado says they sailed only fifteen leagues, and at the end of this distance were seventy leagues from the "Xaguges" of the port of Santa Cruz, whatever that may mean. (Herrera simply says *puerto de Santa Cruz*.) On Monday, the 24th, he says they began to see plains covered with beautiful short green grass, which looked as if it had no thorns. He even speaks of seeing similar plains from the 16th of November. It is evident from this that they were at this time off the Magdalena plains.

see her, nor find her, we came to the coast, to see if we could find her there. She was not there, nor did she come up; and seeing that she did not come up nor appear, we continued our voyage along the coast, Saturday, which was the 22nd of the said month, to go to a certain latitude where I had told them to rendezvous if by any chance we were separated.

We sailed with little wind and occasional calms, and eight days after we had lost the ship I arrived at dawn in a great bay[85] which lies in latitude 25°, which is where I had, as stated, told the pilots of the armada we were to await each other fifteen days, if we became separated,[86] and in that bay I found the ship. Our rejoicing corresponded to the need we had, one of the other, and the situation warranted. We remained at anchor in this bay all this day, on which we met, without sailing, to tell each other why we had separated one from the other. We had no wind to do more.

When we had come together she said that she had been awaiting us there for five days, and that she had been brought thither by a very strong current, in a very short while, without being able to help herself, and that she had found very good water, which pleased us greatly, for we were much in need of water. She gave us news of a very large lagoon off which we were, and of the entrance to it.[87] This lagoon is so large that it is twenty or twenty-five leagues around, and the mouth is so wide and so deep that ships of any size can enter. This lagoon is inhabited, as it appeared and will presently be related.

Having so come together, as above said, we sailed for the place where the water was, on Thursday, November 27. As we were setting out a north wind blew, so fierce and furious, that we could not make the land where the watering place was. On the contrary, it drove us so far to sea that hardly, with difficulty could we make back to the land at the point where we left it. This same day, a little before midnight, we made it three or four leagues below the point from which we had sailed.

We rode at anchor that night and all the next day, and the next

[85] This bay seems to have no name, although I am inclined to think that it was later called "Santa Marina". From his subsequent description, it is the bay which has Cape Tosco on the west and Cresciente island on the north.

[86] This statement is important as furnishing evidence of the extent of previous explorations of the peninsula made by the captains of Cortes. Apparently it was already known that the Pacific would be met at the latitude of 25°. The actual airline distance from the lower end of La Paz bay to the nearest point on the Pacific is only about twenty-seven miles, and there can be but little doubt that some of Cortes' men crossed this little narrow neck. Juan de Jaso says that he made certain expeditions while in California, and Jorge Ceron tells us the same thing. [Icaza Nos. 536 and 529].

[87] Almejas bay.

until noon, when the wind dropped, and blew so that we could go to the watering place. We went on Saturday, 29th [88] of the said month, but we could not arrive at it that day. We anchored half a league from it, because it was night and we found little depth.[89]

Next day we sailed, and with the small boats went to see the water, and we discovered the channel by which the ships had to come up to it. While we were so engaged a smoke signal was made on land, which amazed us, for in all the time the Trinidad was there she had seen no people, nor sign of any. When those who were in the boats sounding the channel, saw the smoke, they went to it, to see what it was. They saw six or seven Indians who were making it, who fled on seeing that they were drawing near the land.

Next day, which was Monday, December 1, we brought the ships up to the watering place and landed to fill. Before we disembarked we saw, on a high hill, four or five Indians watching us. After we had disembarked, when we were setting out our sentries, we saw twelve or fifteen others on some hills. While we were taking water, this day at vespers, two bands of these people assaulted us. One came down the side of a hill, straight to the watering place. The other attacked from above, by way of certain steep gullies, which were near us. These Indians approached so crouched and hidden, one from the other, that our sentries did not see them—could not see them—until they were very near. They hardly gave us time to climb the height, although we took it so fast that they did not arrive there before us. They attacked us with such marvellous spirit and ferocity, and with such a rain of arrows, javelins and stones, that they did not permit us to show a face from under our bucklers. Our Lord was pleased that we should resist their first onslaught, and we broke them up and they fled although at the expense of two or three of us, and Becerillo, whom they wounded.[90]

After we had broken them up, they separated in three different directions, and stationed themselves in three places on the hill near us, whence they could do us damage, and from there they fired javelins and arrows and stones at us. Those on the hill, as soon as they

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[88] The text says the 27th in error.

[89] From the description it is apparent that the watering place where they took possession was on the south end of Santa Margarita island just under Cape Tosco, which is actually in latitude 24°18′.

In none of the accounts of this island have I seen any mention of a watering place at this point. Father Guillen, who in 1719 reached the eastern side of the bay of Magdalena, says that the Indians told him that there was plenty of water on Santa Margarita island, which was then called "Santa Rosa."

[90] Preciado gives us a very similar account of this incident, except that he himself was the hero.

went up it, got together and began to walk about, singing and dancing, with their bows in their hands. We were unable to decide why they did this. It must have been to indicate that they had held us in little esteem, or to honor some one of themselves, if he had conducted himself better than the rest, as is customary among them.

Seeing that both bands stayed where they were, and continued to try to do us damage, we formed into two parties. One remained on guard that they might do no harm to those who were filling water, and we of the other party fought with those who came nearest to us from the hour they attacked us until night separated us.

They gave us plenty of work this day, and the hardest was to take the hills where the two bands were, whence they offended us without risk to them and at our cost. The taking of these hills was a relief to us and an assurance of safety, for in addition to our being in a position, then, to offend them, without ourselves being offended, they lost heart and withdrew from us, and we gained courage, especially upon taking the last, which was the stronger and better and had rocks in abundance, with which they waged the principal war on us and did the most damage. This last stronghold taken, we stopped.

The Indians who were on it and the other hills withdrew whither they saw fit and formed little parties, in each group say six or seven men, and so assembled they sat down and built their fires and were quite at their ease. We did not know whether or not they did this to lead us to believe that they were going to remain or to protect themselves from the cold, for it was very cold. In this manner they remained quiet until it commenced to grow dark, when they began to depart, each carrying a burning brand in his hand. When they had all gone, we advanced, as we had not dared to do before, lest they might think we were fleeing and take heart and do us damage as we embarked, which they could have done, for the place where we had to embark lent itself to it. We embarked with difficulty, because it was night, and the sea rough. When we arrived aboard, the wounded men and the dog received attention, and we issued orders as to the manner in which we were to fill the water we lacked.

The people who came and waged war on us this day were naked people, of medium appearance.[91] Some had long black hair and all the rest wore theirs cut two or three fingers long. Many of them wore hanging about their necks shining shells of the kind in which pearls

[91] These Indians inhabited a section of the country which appears on the map of the Jesuits as that of the Monquis, but I have not seen any record of any actual expedition to the island before the nineteenth century, nor have I ever seen any description of any of the Indians who at that time inhabited the island.

grow. In their ears they wore pieces of wood two inches thick. Their arms were slender bows (?),[92] taller than they, arrows of cane or wood, with flint points, and some lances.

This same day, before they attacked us, I went up on a very high hill, which overlooks the lagoon of which they had told me, to see it and if there was anything else in the land. Nothing more was to be seen than the size and beauty of the lagoon, above described.[93]

Then, the next day, Tuesday, which was the 2nd of the said month, we brought the Trinidad up, nearer to the watering place than she had been, in order to be able to protect ourselves with the artillery, if the Indians should return. We did nothing this day except to come up, in order to take the watering place, nor did we attempt more, except to go with a small boat to see the lagoon and the entrance to it. They went into this entrance, and found it clear and very deep, and the lagoon to be such and as large as has been said.

In it they found very large rafts made of canes and bigger than the boat in which they were, according to those who went there. They found some people on its shores, who disputed their landing every time they came near shore with the boat.

The entrance to this lagoon is to the north, and it lies in latitude 25° It will be identified by a point of land, prominent and recognizable, which comes out into the sea. It was here we found the Trinidad, and therefore we called this point Punta de la Trinidad,[94] and named the lagoon La Laguna de Santa Catalina.[95]

Then, the next day, Wednesday, which was the 3rd of the said month, all the men who were able came out armed and equipped as best could be, and landing with due precaution the sentinels took up their positions in such manner that they could attack without being attacked, even if the people came. We filled the water we needed without any difficulty or contradiction from the natives, even without seeing a man of them, big or little, and so returned to the ships.

Then, next day, Thursday, which was the 4th of the said month, I took possession[96] for your lordship, and we sailed in continuance of our voyage, standing away on a northwest course.

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[92] In the original there is here an unintelligible word, but it seems likely that it may be an abbreviation for *arcos*.

[93] Almejas bay.

[94] Point Tosco.

[95] Almejas bay.

[96] The *acta* says it was the first of the month, and places the latitude at 25°; actually it is in 24°18′.

From the general course of the narrative it seems probable that the proper date is the 4th, as stated in the text. Preciado also says that they sailed on the 4th, but does not mention taking possession.

Eight or ten leagues further on this course we came upon a beautiful bay, which was ten or twelve leagues around and one across the entrance.[97] It is inhabited by the same sort of people as the preceding Laguna de Santa Catalina. I did not wish to stop in it, for I was somewhat indisposed, and because it seemed to me there was nothing more to see here than at the last place. We continued on our voyage.

Having sailed twenty or twenty-five leagues from this bay along the coast, the wind blew entirely contrary, in such manner that we could not advance at all. In order not to lose ground, we anchored off shore and rode at anchor for three days, awaiting wind to enable us to sail. During these days, six or seven leagues inland, we saw many and large smoke signals, far apart, in such numbers that they were three or four leagues in extent. They lasted all the time we were there, and much longer, as afterward appeared.

At the end of these three days, one Thursday, 11th of said month, early in the night the weather grew so rough it broke the cables by which we were anchored, and we were compelled to abandon our anchors, and to sail, putting out to sea.[98] We managed this with great difficulty, for the wind was a cross-wind, and in the direction in which we could get out we had a point of land to pass. Our Lord was pleased that we should double it, and we got away without danger, though not without the hard work above described, because in addition to having to double the point, the wind and sea rose so that we were hard-pressed.

Seeing that day dawned with the same sort of weather prevailing, and growing constantly worse, and that it presented no indication of immediate cessation, we returned to shelter twenty leagues back, behind a sandy beach near Punta de la Trinidad. Here, awaiting an abatement of the storm and for weather propitious for our voyage, we lay from this Friday, when we arrived there, which was the 12th of the said month, until the following Monday, the 15th. Then, seeing that the weather continued to grow worse, we dropped down to Punta

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[97] Magdalena bay. Preciado says that they called it the *"Baya de Abad,"* and so it appears on the maps. October 5 is the day of San Sabás Abad, no doubt the Abad referred to in the name. Hakluyt has this marginal note: *Baya del Abad is 100 leagues from the point of California,* which is much too great if he means Cape San Lucas, but he probably means Puerto de Santa Cruz.

[98] This is evidently the point which is called "Ancoras" on the maps, but from the indefinite description given I have not been able to identify it. It must, however, have been near San Juanico point.

From the mention of smokes inland, at the same place or quite close to it some of the maps have the name "Quemadas," or in one case, "Chumadas."

de la Trinidad, to be more sheltered, and to fill water, for we had drunk it up. We arrived there this same day.[99]

The next day, Tuesday, we towed the ship Trinidad up near the watering place (for the wind did not serve us), in order to fill water in safety, and to make use of her, if it should be necessary.

As we were arriving, when we were already near the watering place, there appeared four men upon a hill, and shortly, on other higher hills, a few more Indians, who stationed themselves near the first, who had come down to the shore and posted themselves over the watering place, the rest behind them, except three or four, who remained in certain positions, watching and protecting the others. As they were so standing sentry, some sailors came near them, to drop an anchor, and the Indians spoke to them, and made signs to them to come ashore and they would give them a shining shell, which they showed them, of the sort in which pearls grow, which they wore hanging about their necks. The sailors indicated to them by signs that they did not wish to do so, and two or three of them came swimming out to a rock, which lay somewhat out to sea, between them and the sailors. They sank an arrow into the rock and on top of it hung the shell they offered, and withdrew. When they had done this, they again made signs to the sailors to go after the shell. They did not wish to do so, but rather returned to the ship. When the Indians saw that they had not wished to take the shell, they again went out to the rock, and took the arrow and the shell, and came swimming with them, and sank the arrow in the buoy above the anchor which the sailors had dropped, and went back.

Seeing their actions, and that apparently they did not wish to give it unless we went after it to get it, I took it and went to land where the Indians were, with certain articles of barter, to give them. By signs I had them draw a little nearer than they had been, and indicated to them that I wished to give them those things, which I showed them, and that they should come for them. They would not, but rather made signs that I should go to the rock to which they had come first and put them there for them. I did so, and had a man swim out

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[99] This account is perfectly plain in demonstrating that they were now at the same point where they had previously watered, but from the Preciado account it would appear that they were at a different place. After the anchors broke, he says they went back to look for the Baya de Abad, and not being able to reach it, lay under the lee of the land, where they went fishing. He then says that they repaired to the watering place, which was some six leagues distant.

On account of this uncertainty and the fact that in referring to the place later, in Chapter 11, as the "Punta de la Trinidad," which name he had not previously applied to the place, the Agnese map has put the Punta de la Trinidad at about where Cape San Lazaro is.

and place some little things there for them. He did this and I motioned to them to go for them and they answered me to withdraw further than I was and that they would. I withdrew, and they came out and took them and went to shore.

When they had come out on land, all assembled to see what those things were which we had given them. Presently, when they had seen them, they sent them inland by a messenger in the direction of the lagoon, and they made signs to us with their hands that they were going and that they would return. We thought they said that they were going to show those things to the rest of the people and to summon them, according to what happened later.

Having despatched this messenger, they again came out on the rock which was in the water, and again placed another shell there and a few little skeins [100] of strings, like those the Indians of the port and bay of Santa Cruz wear on their heads, which I again sent to get, leaving other things there in exchange. I ordered the man who took these things out, to call them, to see if finally he could get them to come up to him, and he did, but they desired no conversation with him. On the other hand, they made signs to him to return, and to me to withdraw further than I was, and that they would come after our gifts. This was done, and they took them. Presently they again came out to the rock and hung on the arrow a diadem, such as some of them wear on their heads, which was made of woven thread, very thick, all covered with fine red feathers, well tied and fastened in, in such manner that it looked more like thread with little black feathers standing up along the edges.[101] It was as much as five fingers or more wide in the middle, the ends pointed. I had it fetched and went to the ship for dinner, for I felt more need of dinner than I did of their bestiality and barter.

Seeing that I went aboardship, they all retired together to a little hill where they had first been; and a little while after reaching there, they all got up and began to walk about, singing and dancing, and making all manner of signs of rejoicing. A little while after they had done this, they again got up from where they were seated, and, very rapidly, with much loud outcry and rejoicing, began to run and jump about, from one part of the hill to another, without any arms. This rejoicing over, which was soon, they sat down again, and from time to time called out to us, summoning us to resume bartering.

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[100] Preciado nowhere speaks of these skeins.

[101] Preciado calls them "a garland made of Parats feathers or sparrowes feathers painted red," but so far as known, there were no parrots in Lower California.

After dinner, in order that they might not be afraid, I got into a boat alone, with only the necessary rowers and the Indian from the port and bay of Santa Cruz,[102] and we went to see them, to see if the Indian could understand them. As we arrived, I made them signs to go out to the rock where we had traded before, and they left their arms and went out to it. As before, I had certain things placed on the rock, so that they should come up to where the Indian was, that he might speak to them. They came, and approached with considerable fear, although they were quite safe. The Indian spoke to them, and said many things to them, which they answered by signs, like people who did not understand. So they were a long while engaged, without being able to comprehend each other. I regretted this not a little, for I should have liked to learn something of them, especially what sort of people they were, and how much intelligence they possessed. They seemed to me to possess little.

At this juncture the messenger arrived, whom I said above that they had sent inland toward the lagoon, and when he had come up to those who sent him, and spoken with them, they despatched another with as great haste as they had the first. I saw that he carried some of the things that I had given, among which was a collar of tiger (?) skin, which I had given them.

A little while after this messenger left, he returned, and with him a little band of people. Presently another band arrived, who were much painted from the knee up, in black and white. In truth, from a distance they looked well, especially when one did not know what the paint was. On coming up to where the others were, they all laid down their arms and began to sing and dance, and to point to us with their hands, raising and lowering them, in sign of all sorts of rejoicing.

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[102] Preciado says that this Indian was born on "the island of California", and a few sentences farther on he refers to the language of "the island of California". These two uses of the word "California" are two of the only three times that the word is used in the original Italian. The use of the word here might again be taken to indicate that the "island of California" was another name for the "port and bay of Santa Cruz" as used by Ulloa. If we could be certain that Preciado actually used the expression in his original narrative, it would be proof that he, at least, so understood its significance. All the old writers, however, were in the habit of changing names of places to correspond with what they thought was the knowledge of their readers. As the original of Preciado's relation is lost, we have no means of ascertaining whether or not he actually used the word. It may be said, however, that at this time Preciado had discovered that what we now call "Lower California" was not an island, and we are forced to believe that if he actually used the word, he thought that California was an island, and probably one of those near La Paz bay. Richman, in *California under Spain and Mexico*, discusses the point on page 363 in his notes on the name "California". He thinks it might have been Cerralvo or Espiritu Santo. Of the two, it could hardly have been Cerralvo, but more likely Espiritu Santo, or Las Perlas, as it was then called.

Some, who probably felt themselves to be finer figures, or of more account than the others, began to leap and advance, and to indulge in antics, and to show their mettle. After they had all arrived and gone through their ceremonies and pageantry as above stated, they joined those who were there first, and laid aside their arms, and came near the rock, and we renewed our bartering in the same order and manner as before.

Among those who had come last was one very much painted, wearing on his head a diadem like the one they had given me. He was seated on some rocks (?)[103] somewhat apart from the rest, who ran to him and carried to him everything I gave them. It seemed to me he must be the principal person, to whom they had sent the messengers.

After I had been with them awhile in this trading, and had thoroughly seen their number and condition, I left them and went to rest, and to summon my companions, that they might see them, if they wished, and amuse themselves with them, for, in order not to alarm them, I had preferred to take with me no one but the inspector. A little while after I had come back, some went to see them, and I went with them, lest they go further than was advisable. When we had arrived where they were, we summoned them and renewed our trading as at first. When they had seen them well we returned to our ship. We told them by signs to go and to come next day, and so they did.

This day what we got from them were many tail feathers of owls[104] and some little shells of the kind in which pearls grow, and some small skeins of thread of the sort they wear on their heads, and a belt or girth, which looked as though it were meant to go around the body, made of some black beads, and some mantles of cords,[105] on the ends of it, many deer hoofs, for rattles;[106] and a diadem of the kind described.

Then, next day, 17th of the said month of December, we landed before dawn to fill water and to take possession of certain heights before the Indians should come to occupy them, because from one of them they could do us damage. When we had so occupied them, and while we were filling water, a little band of people came along the beach, at about nine o'clock, from the direction of the lagoon.

Arriving about half a bowshot from us, they stopped and all laid down their arms, and made a signal of peace, which was to raise a little banner of white feathers, which they carried. We reassured

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[103] Here the text is torn a little, but the word seems to be *piedras*.

[104] Spanish—*buhannos*, an unknown word, but probably it is a mistake for *buhos*—owls. Preciado says that they were like hawk feathers.

[105] The Spanish word looks like *cuasa*, but it is probably an error for *guasca*—cord.

[106] Spanish—*cascabeles*.

them by signs. This done, they went up a hill which was near us and again made a sign that they wished to resume trading, as on the preceding day, which sign was to raise an arrow with a shell on it, of the kind they gave us, and to tell us by signs that they wished to come up to put it at a point midway between us and them. We indicated to them by our motions that they should so place it. They replied for us to withdraw further than we were, although we were at a good distance from them, and between us was a good-sized gully such that to climb up it many times one needed to wear as few clothes as they wore. Not satisfied with this, they made us signs to sit down and squat lower, and to make the dogs we had with us lie down, which we did as they asked.

This done, two of them came up (with great fear, we fancied) and sank their arrow where they had indicated, and returned mighty fast up a hill to where the rest were. After this, they made signs for us to go after it, and so he[107] went to get it, and put something else in its place, in exchange.

I bade him call them, and reassure them, to see if they would get over their fear, and come up to him, and take from his hand what I gave them, but they would not. On the contrary, they were very careful to see if he carried any weapon. As he carried one and the Indians saw it, they immediately bade him lay it aside, so that he could not carry any weapon, except a dagger up his back, which they did not observe. So he went and took what they had left on the arrow, on which he placed what he carried, and withdrew a little and commenced to speak and to call them; but he could not persuade any of them to come to take anything from his hand, although, after a long time and after he had greatly reassured them, they came within fifteen or twenty paces of him, which we did not consider very near. So he was engaged until after midday with them, giving them of what he had, and receiving of them what they gave, which was merely more such valuable jewels as we had got the day before.

When we had filled the water we wanted, by signs we bade them withdraw further, indicating that we wished to go to eat, and that they should permit us to embark. They understood us, and complied, and all withdrew to the highest part of the hill, and we began to embark.

When the water was already aboard and some of the men were in the boats, one of the lookouts we had stationed saw coming over some hills another band of people, all with bows and arrows in their hands.

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[107] According to Preciado's account, this was Preciado himself.

He warned me, and I had the men who were in the boats come ashore again, and again take up the post we had held before, for it was suitable to our defense. When we began to prepare, and to get ready to see what the Indians intended, the first lot, who were already there, began to talk to us and tell us not to be alarmed, that the others were not coming to do us harm.

Those who first arrived took up their position on a hill near us, and made the same sign the first had made, when the trading began, and to both we answered to their taste, and these had the same assurance of their personal safety as the first. When we had traded with them a little in the things already described, and in the same order and manner, we bade them by signs to join the first party, and we told the first party to summon them, and both parties comprehended us, and complied.

When they were assembled, a few of the first-comers drew near and began to go about, singing and dancing, every man taking into his hands those weapons, with which nature equipped him. These must be a dirty people, of wretched habits, for, in addition to this evil dance, they made other evil and dirty signs to the man who was trading with them.

They being so assembled and we tired and weary with having spent the whole day with them, in barter and bestiality, we gave order to embark, in such fashion that they would not damage us. In this we employed a ruse with them.

Seeing us embarking, they all came down to the cliffs by the sea and began to call us, and we replied to them that we were going to eat, and that we would return, that they might not think that fear had dictated the manner of our embarkation. When we were aboard they called us various times by signs, to which we responded that when we had eaten we would return, as above said.

Seeing that we delayed, they were minded to fire a few arrows at the ship. We paid no heed to them, for we did not know whether they did this in jest or in earnest, but not satisfied with this, many of them waded waist deep into the water to fire arrows at certain sailors who were in a boat raising an anchor, that we might sail and go join the other ship which was at some distance. They shot many arrows at them and made a lot of noise, with yelling and harsh sounds.

In view of this and of the bad treatment we received from them the first time we arrived here,[108] and that their trading and friendly overtures had been directed to the end of playing us some trick, if they

[108] This furnishes positive proof that this affair took place at the Punta de la Trinidad, where they had previously watered.

could, and should find us susceptible, and also in order to protect the men in the boat, I decided to let them have some punishment, or him upon whom it might fall, in consideration of their conduct, past and present. We let loose on them a few shots [109] from the ship, which did some damage, and would have done more, but, thinking that the skies were falling on them, upon hearing the shots and seeing some fallen among them, they fled in a fashion worth seeing! Without waiting for anybody, each man ran on his own account, in the direction in which he thought he could escape or hide from us the quickest; and so in no time at all they all got out of sight in the gullies, so that we saw not a man of them, neither here nor in any other place during the time we were about.

After we had done this, we rejoined the other ship, which was in a well sheltered place, where we were from the said Monday when we had arrived, which was the 15th of the said month, until the following Sunday, which was the 21st, when the wind gave us a sample of weather favorable to the continuance of our voyage.

We weighed from this watering place and Punta de la Trinidad to resume our voyage on Sunday, as above said, and as we were sailing along the same coast, with little wind and sometimes contrary, after five days on the said course we arrived in the vicinity where we lost the anchors when we took refuge there in the bad weather,[110] and in this vicinity we saw the same smoke signals in the same fashion and manner as before. We were astounded to see that they lasted so long, especially since at night enough dew fell to quench all the fire in the world.

We went on,[111] and sixty leagues from this smoke we were caught

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[109] Spanish—*versos*, a small cannon in use at that time.

[110] The same in Preciado, who adds that the place where the anchors were lost was thirty-five leagues from the point of departure, i.e., the Punta de la Trinidad.

[111] The account in Preciado of what follows is somewhat different from this. He says that on the 25th, Christmas, they began to have favorable wind; on the 27th they anchored near a point; and the next day, Innocents' day, they began to sail, and after sailing three or four leagues were met by a point which stretched toward the west. Near this spot the word "Innocentes" appears on one of the maps, which probably refers to this point.

Neither Ulloa nor Preciado mentions the rocks at Abreojos, but on one of the maps appears "Punta Arrasifes," and on another, "Basos."

Preciado adds that on the first of the year they saw two small islands, probably San Roque and Asuncion. Ahead of them they saw a high land, somewhat separate from the main shore, probably Point San Eugenio, although he says that on the 5th of January they came to this high land and it proved to be two islands, one small and the other large, undoubtedly Natividad and Cedros. He then adds that they coasted these islands, for six leagues, and then saw ahead of them a high land to the north, eight or ten leagues away, where, he adds, they rode on Monday, at night.

in a storm from the northeast,[112] when we were in sight of three islands which are near the mainland. This storm was such that it drove us[113] so far that we lost sight of both mainland and islands.

When the storm[114] had left us—and not a little weary and ill-treated—we turned to the coast, in order to continue to see what it offered. We were seven days getting back to the coast, after this storm left us, and we arrived off it in latitude full 30°,[115] twenty-five leagues forward of the point whence the storm drove us from it.

Two or three nights, before we came up to the land we saw fires on the shore. We did not anchor, because as we were about to do so, we decided that the weather would be wretched and rough, for which reason we did not dare anchor. Rather, we stood out to sea, and as we did so, the weather grew so much worse that we were forced to turn back to seek shelter, and avail ourselves of these three islands, above mentioned, which we had left behind, and twenty leagues distant. We did not wish to see what they were when we passed them, for they seemed to us to be of little value and of wretched aspect, and we did not wish to lose favoring weather, etc.

We arrived at them and came up to the principal one[116] on a Saturday, January 9, year 1540, and just as we anchored and found shelter there, a north wind blew so cruelly, so hard and bringing on such darkness and clouds and fog with it, in the sky and over the land, that even in the shelter where we were, which was not bad for that wind, we were hard-pressed, and, truly, I believe that if we had been caught at sea we would have been in danger.

When this bad weather passed, and gave us opportunity to get the boats out of the ships and go to land,[117] we did so, to see if there were any people and if we could get water, and to put into the ships a little ballast which we needed. On the land we found traces of people, large

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[112] As the storm apparently drove them northwest or north, it is more likely that the storm was from the southeast.

[113] In the text there are two unintelligible words here; they look like *con tiros,* which might be translated "with squalls" or "gusts."

[114] Preciado does not mention this storm, but simply says that they were assailed by two or three windy showers. His whole account is quite different from that of Ulloa.

[115] I have been unable to satisfy myself at just what point on the coast Ulloa arrived after this storm. He says that it was in 30°, and as the island of Cedros was afterwards located by him in 29½°, it might appear that the point on the coast was 30′ north of the island of Cedros. It is probable, however, that the latitude of 29½° applies to the place where possession was taken, near the lower end of the island; and on such a supposition, his farthest point north on the coast could have been but little north of the north end of Cedros island.

[116] Cedros island, probably in South bay on the southwest side. They certainly were on that side of the island.

[117] Preciado says that this was on the 13th of January.

and small, not recent, but old, rather, which looked as though left in a rainy season, which astonished us not a little, for it seemed to us impossible, that in such a poor kind of land, there could be a living thing upon it. Exploring it, in some gullies we found water, but not such in quantity or quality that we could fill the water we needed. Having seen the poor character of the land, and that there we could not fill water, we took on the ballast we needed and re-embarked.

After we had been six or seven days in this shelter, the weather cleared and became somewhat propitious for our voyage, so that we weighed and stood away east,[118] to sail around this island on the other side, which we had not seen. When we had gone two or three leagues, with little wind and occasional calms, four Indians of the island came out to us on a wooden raft.[119] They came near, and retired when they had looked us over. We did not wish to seize them and hold them aboard, in order not to delay us or cause them displeasure.

Presently we discovered the point of that island where it turns north.[120] Here a few rocks project into the sea, and off them were five or six rafts of fishermen, fishing, in which were ten or twelve men, and to the right of them was a little hill, on which appeared a few of the people who inhabited that land.

Therefore we concluded that there must be people there, and to see them, and to see if there was water here, for we needed water, we anchored in that place, before doubling the point. When we had anchored and come to a stop, all those who were fishing at sea withdrew to the other side of the rocks, in which direction it seemed they had their lodging.

Half an hour or an hour after they had arrived—it was after sundown and night was falling—five men on a raft came out of their settlement toward us, and drew up to within a bowshot from our ships. At this distance they stopped and began to speak to us loudly, in high voices, and we to them, in languages such that if they understood us little, still less did we understand them. After vociferating a bit, it being now night, they returned, and went to their camp, and so did the rest who were on the hill.

Then, next day, Thursday, which was the 15th of the month of

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[118] This proves that they were then on the west side of the island and furnishes evidence that when they passed by Cedros in the first place they passed to the east of the island, and as the coast turns to the east after rounding Point Eugenio, it is probable that they sailed in a northeast direction. Preciado afterwards says that when they passed Cedros they were so far away it looked like a habitable country full of trees.

[119] Spanish—*barcas*. Really they were *balsas*, and Ulloa sometimes uses that word.

[120] Morro Redondo.

January, we remained quiet until noon, being unable to go forward for lack of wind. Half an hour after sun-up there came out from the island, from the place whither it seemed the people had retired, five rafts which carried one and two and three and four and five men inside, and they went out to sea (a good deal farther out than we were), and without any indication of fear or fright, to judge by their reposeful manner, they fished until nine or ten o'clock, and returned to their settlement.

Later, after midday, the wind blew so that we could double the point and depart; and we did so, and discovered the place to which they had withdrawn. They lived there, and here we anchored.

On seeing us anchored the men and boys and women gathered up their miserable belongings and went inland. Some of the men remained in the place and some on the shore and some on a hill. When we had anchored, we went ashore quickly to see those people and to see if we could find any water, in order not to lose the wind, which was good. On seeing that we were going there, the Indians all came up to the place where we were going to land, and began to speak loudly and insolently, and to forbid us by signs to advance, to whom we made signs to keep quiet, that we did not intend them any harm, nor had other purposes than to seek water. The more we reassured them, the more arrogant did they become. Seeing that no signs or arguments prevailed to reassure them, we landed against their will.[121]

The Indians, seeing that we were going to land, armed themselves with many stones and great clubs which they employed with both hands, and with much spirit and determination prepared to prevent our landing. They did prevent it, for a while, in such manner that as we landed they did us plenty of damage with the stones. No matter how well we protected ourselves with our bucklers, they landed plenty of them on us, with which they wounded some (and wounded them severely), and knocked out others. They pressed us hard. The sailors were to blame for it, because when the stones fell they faltered and weakened in such fashion that for a while they made us good targets for the stones. The Indians did not escape without paying, as the larger share fell to them.[122] Our Lord was pleased that when we had shot[123] a few of them, we landed, but not because they withdrew from the water's edge, even after all the damage some of them had received. Rather, if with good will they disputed our landing, with even better

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[121] January 15.

[122] Preciado gives a long and somewhat different account of this fight.

[123] i.e. with arrows from the *ballestas*, or cross-bows.

they came upon us as we landed, and so determinedly that they waded into the water to receive us with their stones and clubs. With these they dealt us such mighty blows that when they struck a buckler they shattered it, and he who got off lightest found the arm which had held the buckler sore for many a day. So they held for a while, fighting foot to foot with us, and then we broke them and they fled, carrying off with them a good tale to tell. In addition to the wounded, and those who were shot (who were quite a few), one died right there.

When we had so broken them up, and there had occurred with them the affair described, we went some distance inland to seek water, and found none, for it appeared that they brought their drinking water from a distance in the paunches of seals. While we were looking about for water at some distance from the sea, in some gullies we came upon everything that the women and boys had, as above said, removed from the settlement. This convinced us that they must have been extremely frightened since so far from us they abandoned everything they possessed. To judge by the way the loads lay, by the manner in which they were scattered about, each dropped what he was carrying where he stood when he heard the news. We looked to see what these things were, and what sort of thing these people had, and for what they were used, and we found nothing except some sealskins[124] in which they slept, and protected themselves from the cold, and some seals' paunches in which they had water, and fishing lines and hooks made of the thorns of certain cactuses[125] and some fish that they had killed to eat. Having inspected this miserable rubbish, and inasmuch as we did not find water,[126] we returned to see the settlement where they had been.

It consisted of some enclosures, no more nor less than we had seen before in other places. They had five or six rafts, which they used in fishing, made of pine or cedar timbers, as long as twelve or fifteen feet, and so big that a man could hardly reach around them. The part under water is rounded, and where the people stand on them they are flat. They are not hollow in any part. On each side, to maintain the balance, there are bundles of many cedar poles, closely tied together, as long as the canoes themselves. They rowed them with paddles two or three palms long and about three fingers across, at the end of each a three-

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[124] Preciado says that they carried away a lot of these seal-skins, which they returned before they left the island.

[125] Spanish—*cardones*. The spines of the *viznaga* were generally used by the Indians of the peninsula as fish-hooks.

[126] Preciado says that they did get a little water here in skin paunches, but the main watering place which they afterwards discovered is about four and three-quarter miles north of the Morro Redondo.

cornered triangular piece of wood of this shape [here is sketched in an arrowhead] five or six fingers from point to point.

Having seen all this, as said, we embarked and continued our voyage the next day, Saturday, which was the 17th of the said month, sailing for the mainland coast,[127] whence the weather had driven us; and as we sailed, with little and contrary wind and occasional calms, this same night we encountered a storm from the northwest so violent that it separated us, one ship from the other, and compelled us to return to take shelter in the same place from which we had weighed. One ship, which was the Santa Agueda, arrived there next day at midday, and the Trinidad when it was night. We did not anchor, nor did we have to take shelter, for the weather improved and became almost calm, with some changes favorable for continuance of our voyage.

When the ships had come together, we continued on our way, and as we sailed the following day nice little calms succeeded, which lasted two or three days. These, and some current which runs there, again separated us and the ships lost sight of each other. Finding ourselves so separated, one from the other, we returned towards this island, to meet there again, for so we had agreed.[128] Our Lord was pleased that the same day we turned back to hunt each other, we met on the island's coast, eight or ten leagues forward of the point where we had separated; and in the vicinity where we met there was another settlement of people.[129]

Seeing them, we anchored near them, to see them and to look for water, as above said. Seeing us anchored, five or six men came out of the settlement on three rafts and came up to the ship Trinidad, which was nearest. They came up to her without any fear or alarm, and those aboard gave them articles of barter and the Indians gave them fish. They exchanged these things from hand to hand. So they were engaged for a little while, giving and taking. The Indians gave signs of being well pleased with the men aboardship.

While they were so occupied their comrades called them from the land, and they went, and shortly after they had arrived there the same three rafts came out again, and stood a little farther out to sea to fish. After they had fished a little while, one of the rafts with three men came up to the the ship Trinidad, and they began by signs to bid them

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[127] Probably they sailed northeast, although Preciado says that they were sailing north in order to see the end of the island and approach the mainland, and that on the 16th, while seeking to double the point, a storm from the north struck them and drove them back again.

[128] Preciado says that they again tried to double the point of the island.

[129] Just below the northeast point of the island, where a sand point runs out making a little harbor.

give them things in exchange for the fish. Those aboard the Trinidad made them signs to come alongside and they would do it; and they came up and they did so; and so they were busied a while, trading their fish.

They returned to land and shortly after they had arrived there, two other rafts came out, one with four men and the other with two, and they came alongside and gave us a little water, which they carried in a paunch, which we had by signs told them to bring. We gave them beads in exchange.[130]

On the raft on which the four men came, there was one older than the rest, who did not row, but rather issued orders to them what to do and what to say to us, and took what we gave them. We thought he must be of more importance than the others. After they had been there a while, they drew off, and when they had gone a little distance from us, they began to speak insolently in high voices, especially those of the raft where this older man was, from which they threw two or three small stones at us. I think they bade us depart, for so they indicated, by signs.

Then, next day, Wednesday, which was January 21, to see if there was water in that Indian encampment, we landed at dawn in order to occupy the shore before the Indians should see us, in order not to give them cause or opportunity to act toward us as the first who were down below had done, and in order not to do them damage. As we were landing, as soon as they saw us, five men of pretty wretched aspect came out from the settlement, two of them with two little bows with which they could hardly have killed sparrows, and one with a little rod in his hands, and the other two with clubs little more than half a fathom long. So they came on; and we were thirty men and had three dogs. They advanced on us with as much spirit and ferocity as though in number and quality they had been us, and we they. They began to make such threats and menaces, by word and gesture, that, really, it seemed they wanted to eat us, and, moreover, that they had the power to do it. The more signs we made them to be still, the more arrogant they became, to such an extent that they were silly enough to stand foot to foot with us, throwing many stones and menacing us with the clubs, and pointing the arrows at us. Every time they did any of these things, they painted themselves with some little cakes of white earth they had in their hands, marking their legs and arms and breasts. The more arrogant they grew, the more they daubed themselves.

Seeing that neither the argument nor signs of peace that we made,

130 At this point Preciado describes the kelp which grows around the island of Cedros, and says that it grows in fifteen or twenty fathoms of water.

nor the considerable patience we had with them, prevailed, and seeing ourselves annoyed as much as they were annoying us, we decided to drive them away by setting the dogs on them, to bite some of them and frighten them, and so get rid of them without doing them more harm. We did this, and the dogs seized two of them. One was the old man who I have said above had gone out on the raft the day before and had seemed to me to be of more importance that the others. After the dog had seized him he was just as fierce and obstinate as before. We could do nothing with him, for no kind treatment could reassure him or reduce him to reason, any more than if he had been a brute animal. After the dogs had seized them, and handled some of them roughly, we made them understand what they had not wished to understand before, which was that we had not come to offend them, but only to seek water.

They conducted us to a little watering place which was in a gully where they drank. It seemed to us to be such a small quantity that we could not fill all we needed. When they had shown us this, and they were assured, we gave them some articles of barter and released them and they went away happy.

This done, we came to see the settlement they had, which was no more nor less than the preceding had been. Here, in a cave, at its door, in the sun, covered with a sealskin, we found an old blind man, so old that with age he was all white and dry and so shrivelled that he could not control his members. It seemed to the Reverend Father fray Remundo, who was with us, because of the childishness he saw in him, because of his age, and because he was without sight or strength or possibility to do evil or harm, that it was well to baptize him, and make him a Christian, and he did so.[131]

This done, we embarked in our ships and this day we dropped half a league further south, to see some gullies which looked big to us and likely to offer water, and in one of them we found water, so good and abundant that it sufficed to fill us to capacity, although with hard work, for the water was somewhat distant from the sea, and had to be carried on our backs.[132]

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[131] It must have been on this occasion that possession was taken, although the *acta* says that it was January 20, while Ulloa places the occurrences of this day as on the 21st.

The *acta* puts the latitude as 29½°. Hakluyt has a marginal note on page 262, that it is in 28¼°, which is nearly correct, as the lower end of the island is in 28° 02′. In the Preciado account, which occurs in Chapter 13, no mention is made of taking possession, but in Ramusio (translated by Hakluyt) the heading to Chapter 14 says that they took possession for the Emperor's majesty.

[132] This watering place is still there, although not so much used as the one near the southeast end of the island. It is about three miles south of the northeast point.

Then, next day, Thursday, which was the 23rd [22nd] of the said month, at our pleasure we filled the water of which we had need, without any contradiction on the part of the natives, even without seeing a man, or any fire, or sign, either then or afterwards in all the time we were about this island, which was not a little while as appears from what I have related and will relate presently. While we were filling and as we were finishing a northeast wind blew, which forced us to hurry and embark and sail and come to seek shelter from it in a better haven seven or eight leagues behind the point of the island at the foot.[133]

As we made sail the weather cleared and we did not arrive at the shelter whither we were going, but, on the contrary, continued on our voyage toward the coast of the mainland, with little wind and occasional calms. After we had sailed two days and may have gone eight or ten leagues in this time, on the third day, which was Sunday, January 25,[134] the day dawned dark with wind almost athwart and much rain. With this weather we ran until the afternoon, to see if it would change. The farther the day wore on, the worse the weather grew. The wind blew athwart, and became so strong and the sea so high, that we were hard-pressed, and forced to return to take shelter at the island whence we had set out, where we arrived the next day, Monday, 22nd [26th] of the said month, and we remained there until the 31st, when the wind blew somewhat more propitious for a resumption of our voyage.

We left this island and shelter where we were, on the 31st of the said month, as above stated, to again continue on our way, when we had some weather suitable for it. We stood away for the watering place where we had first filled in that island, in order again to replace the water which we had drunk up.

As we weighed the anchor and began to sail, the wind again blew contrary, although not so strong as before, but strong enough that we could not get to the watering place in the two days we worked to get there. Seeing that we could not come up, especially with the Santa Agueda, we put aboard the Trinidad (because she made better headway against the wind) all the empty casks and all the men available, with a view to filling water. Although with difficulty, next day at midday or before, she came up where the watering place was and filled all that was wanted. This same day she rejoined the other ship, which was beating off shore, waiting. When we had rejoined,

[133] i.e. the Morro Redondo.

[134] Preciado says that on Friday, the 23rd, they had a gale from the southeast, so that during that night and the next day they sailed eighteen great leagues.

we anchored off the coast, to deliver to the Santa Agueda the water the other brought her, and to fetch aboard some fire-wood , which we needed. We got it, and until Thursday, February 5, awaited weather to sail.

We again sailed from this place, where we took on this water and wood, on Thursday, February 5, when we had a sample of suitable weather, as I have said above; and as we were sailing on our course as before, as we set out, that same day, the wind again blew contrary and as strong as on other occasions, so that we were forced to return whence we had weighed. This was such that if it had caught us at a distance from land and separated, it would have treated us badly. We anchored this day and resumed our wait for the weather to abate and the wind to blow propitiously for our voyage, until Sunday, February 8, when we again got some sign of favoring wind, but it lasted as short a while as it had before.

Again we weighed on this day as above said and stood away on a course for the mainland, which we had so many times followed; and, sailing with little wind and occasional calm, we arrived there in three days' time, on the 11th of the said month,[135] and anchored in the same vicinity from whence we had returned the first time the storm drove us back to that island.

While we were anchored, awaiting wind to enable us to sail, after midnight heavy rains fell, with a high wind, which blew across from the land. This gave us work to do, and so much that we had to double our cables and anchors. Our Lord was pleased that this should not last more that two or three hours, when the wind shifted to northwest and we could make out to sea and get away from the cross-wind in which we were. When we had got to sea the wind and the sea rose so that we were hard-pressed. We sought shelter several times, to see if it would blow over, that we might continue; and again we beat back and forth from one place to another, in an effort not to drop back, as the weather was causing us to do. Lying to and beating about, we passed three days,[136] struggling against the weather and waiting for the wind to change, as above said. It did not change, and seeing that it had not, and that we had been brought—forced—back to near the island from which we had sailed, we put in there for shelter on Saturday,

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[135] Between February 8 and February 11, Preciado says that they sailed twenty small leagues and lay in sight of the "said point of the firm land", i.e. from where they were forced back before. Here, he says, they were in a great bay running into the mainland, where they had seen the five or six fires before, i.e. in latitude 30°.

[136] On Wednesday, the 11th, which was Ash Wednesday, Preciado tells us Friar Raimund said a dry mass and gave them ashes.

February 13 [14], and there waited for the weather to clear.[137] We took on what water and wood we had used up and remained until Wednesday, which was March 3, when we again got a showing of favoring weather, as on other occasions.

Again we sailed, to continue our voyage, on Wednesday, which was March 3, and as we began to sail the wind dropped to calm, and a current took us and carried the Santa Agueda close to shore without our being able to prevent it. With great difficulty we drew her off, with the boats and with a little wind which blew and helped us. With this wind we sailed little more than half a league, and when we turned the point of the island toward the north, we found the wind so strong against us that it compelled us to return for shelter to the point, where we arrived at nine at night. We were there until the 8th of the month, when the wind gave signs of favoring us, as on other occasions it was accustomed to do.

We weighed from this place, where we were, on the 8th of the said month, as above related, and as we began to sail the same current caught us and separated us, one ship from the other, carrying one, which was the Santa Agueda, to sea, and the other to land. When we had been so separated, one from the other, the wind again turned contrary as before, and so strong that it caused us difficulty, especially the Santa Agueda. Because it caught her at sea, she got more of it than the other vessel, which was sheltered by the land; and for that reason and in order not to return at night to anchor off shore, because it was not a coast suitable for that, the ship Santa Agueda had to stand out to sea until midnight. From this hour on, she stood in to land, to return to shelter, and both ships reached it next day at vespers, in the same place and vicinity whence we had weighed, where we remained until the next Friday, which was the 12th of the said month.

We weighed this day, as stated, to resume our contention; and as we began to sail, having sailed two leagues or a little more, a fog came down in the middle of the day so thick and dark, that while we could speak, one ship to the other, we could hardly see each other.

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[137] On February 22, Preciado tells us, the general went on shore with the greater part of the people and the Friars. After hearing mass, the soldiers and sailors, with the dogs, went up the valley and found some deer. They took a female, small but fat, whose hair was more like that of a wild goat than a deer. He said that she did not seem to be a perfect deer, because she had four teats like a cow, full of milk. The flesh tasted more like flesh of a goat than that of a deer. He likewise adds that they killed a gray rabbit like those of New Spain, and another as black as ebony. In the settlement they found some pine nuts.

It is difficult to say what these animals were that he mentions, except the gray rabbit. So far as known there were never any real wild goats on the island, and the first animal could hardly have been a female mountain sheep. From the taste of the flesh it might appear that it was an antelope.

In two days we reached the mainland coast, arriving at a point seven or eight leagues southeast of the place to which we had twice returned, as above said, and we did not anchor there, because the sea was high and the wind strong.[138] Instead, we stood out to sea again and as we sailed the wind rose so that it became necessary for us to return to shelter at the island whence we had set out. We arrived there Sunday, 14th of the said month, at eight or nine o'clock, and anchored a league or a league and a half farther north than the place from which we had weighed when we left there.

The night following the day of our arrival, what with the rough weather prevailing and because she was not anchored over clean bottom, the two cables with which the ship Trinidad was anchored broke. Finding herself loose, she made sail and stood out to sea, to make ready another anchor which she had left, and anchor with it, to recover one of the anchors she had lost. When day broke she did this, and recovered one of the anchors. It was the best and most necessary one. The other was lost.

Seeing that the weather did not improve, we came to seek shelter farther south in the haven where we always sought it. We arrived on March 17, and remained there until the 24th of the said month.[139]

Because I have decided from this haven to send the ship Santa Agueda with this relation, I wish to report to your lordship on the quality of these three islands, called San Esteban [Saint Stephen],[140] and of the land which we have seen from Punta de la Trinidad, here.

It is as ugly and sterile, and of as wretched aspect as the lands south of it. In the whole length of it we saw only the smoke signals above mentioned, and a fire far forward of them. We saw no other people, nor sign of any, except the fires I said we saw on the coast forward of those islands, and the Indians of this island, who are naked

[138] At this point they must have been on the coast nearly at the center of the bay of Sebastian Vizcaino.

[139] Preciado says that on Palm Sunday they went on shore with the Friars, who read the Passion to them and said mass, and they went in procession with branches in their hands.

[140] Just exactly what Ulloa means by the three San Esteban islands is uncertain. He never refers to the San Benitos, although he must have seen them, and I presume that he included them as one island. The point is of some importance, because on the earliest maps there appear north of the island of Cedros the Cazones islands. These islands traveled about considerably on later maps, and it has always been a question as to just what islands they were supposed to represent. The name *cazon* means a dog fish, or a littoral shark, which is very common in the bay of Sebastian Vizcaino. Unless the islands had some fancied resemblance to these sharks, it follows that whoever named them must have done so from the number to be found there. This would indicate discovery, of course, and a visit. Neither Ulloa nor Preciado mentions seeing or visiting any islands north or west of Cedros. On the Castillo map the name appears as "Punta Cazones."

people, with holes in their ears. In their habitations we found some hollow pipes, as much as a palm long, made of baked clay, and in them a certain burnt herb, which they must use like tobacco.

In that island, on the tops of the hills, there are some pines and cedars, for which reason we called it La Isla de los Cedros [island of Cedars]. It is the largest and most important of these three San Esteban islands. They are in latitude 29° to 30°.

I should like indeed to send your lordship an account of the people who inhabit the mainland in this vicinity, but your lordship will realize that the weather has been so strongly against me that we have not had an opportunity. Your lordship need not regret it too much, for I believe—I feel certain—that they are not better than the islanders. Experience suggests as much and the lands lie close together. One may rest assured that if the mainland were of more account than the island, there would be some sign of it here. In the island there are rabbits, deer, etc.

Being in this vicinity, as above stated, I had an inspection made of the commissary supplies on hand and found myself with the meat that your lordship will see by the report. Since for all these people the supplies were few, as your lordship will observe, and since on these supplies, with all these people, I could not go on, feeling that it was regrettable to have spent so much time and labor without accomplishing what your lordship so greatly desires, which has cost so much, I have determined, with the ship Trinidad and these few supplies and men, to go on, if God grant me weather, as far as I can, and the wind will permit, and to send this ship and these men to New Spain with this report.

To prepare the ship and put her into good condition and provide her with things necessary, we came to seek a suitable place at the south point of this island, where we arrived on Wednesday of the most Holy Week, which was March 24. We sought such a place all along there and found it on the first day of the most holy festival of the Resurrection, on which day we arrived. We were busied in putting the ship into repair and despatching both of them, until today, Monday, April 5, when we all clear from this, Cedros island, each to proceed upon his respective voyage.

God grant the outcome be such as your lordship desires, Whom may it please to advance your illustrious lordship in person and estate through a long period.

I kiss your lordship's illustrious hands.

Francisco de Ulloa.

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Sirs:

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil) that on the eighteenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and commander of this armada for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, in El Puerto de los Puertos in La Bahia de la Posesion actually and in reality took possession for the señor marques, in the name of the emperor, our master, king of Castile, which is in latitude twenty-nine and two-thirds degrees, placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend such possession, with his sword cutting trees, moving stones from one place to another, and taking water out of the sea and throwing it upon the land, all which was done in token of said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done, Reverend Fathers of the Order of Saint Francis, Father fray Remundo and Father fray Antonio de Meno and Father fray Pedro de Ariche; and Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; and Gonzalo Hidalgo and Diego de Haro and Martin de Espinoza.

Done this day and month of the said year.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, recorded it as it occurred in my presence, and in conclusion made here this my notarial mark in testimony of the truth.

Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinoza. Gonzalo Hidalgo. Frater Raimundo Anyelibus.[141] Frater Antonio de Meno. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil) that on the tenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this armada for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, arrived off the river San Pedro y San Pablo, which is in latitude 26½° on the coast of this New Spain, north of Culiacan, and asked me, the said notary, to bear witness that at the said Cape San

[141] This word appears in three different forms in the various *actas*, and it is therefore impossible to say which is correct. No doubt Father Raimundo wrote it in only one form, but the copyist was apparently not very certain what the word actually was. He is simply referred to as Fray Raimundo in Mendoza's instructions to Alarcon for Alarcon's second expedition.

Pedro y San San Pablo he was commencing his exploration[142] with this armada for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle in the name of the emperor, our master, and king of Castile.

Witnesses who were present, the Reverend Father of the Order of Saint Francis, fray Pedro de Ariche; and Francisco Preciado[143] and Pedro de Busto and Martin de Espinoza,[144] belonging to this said armada.

Done on the day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, record it as it occurred in my presence, and in conclusion made here, this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth.

Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinoza. Francisco Preciado.

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents shall come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil) that on the twenty eighth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this armada for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle de Oaxaca in the Ancon de San Andres and Mar Bermejo, which is on the coast of this New Spain, toward the north, in latitude 33½°, took possession for the said Señor Marques del Valle in the name of the emperor, our master, king of Castile, actually and in reality; placing his hand upon his sword, saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend it, with his sword cutting trees, pulling up grass, moving stones from one place to another, and from there to another, and taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done, Reverend Fathers of the Order of Saint Francis, Father fray Raimundo, Father fray Antonio de Meno; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Diego de Haro, Gabriel Marques.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth.

Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

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142 This seems to be an admission that the territory subject to Nuño de Guzman extended to this river. As a matter of fact, Diego de Guzman had taken possession of several points north of this river on his expedition of 1533, but Ulloa apparently was not aware of the expedition or purposely ignored it.

143 See the introduction for an account of his services.

144 See the introduction for an account of his services.

Frater Raimundus Anyelibus. Frater Antonio de Meno. Gabriel Marques. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.[145]

I Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil) that on the sixth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this armada, for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, took actual possession for the said marques in the name of the emperor, our master, king of Castile, in the bay of San Marcos, which is southeast of the Ancon de San Andres of the Mar Bermejo, and in latitude 30½°, placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend it, with his sword cutting trees, pulling up stones and grass, from one part to another and from there to another, and taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done, Reverend Fathers of Saint Francis, Father fray Raimundo and Father fray Pedro de Ariche; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; and Martin de Espinoza and Pedro de Busto and Juan Montaño.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And, I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, recorded it as it occurred in my presence, and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth.

Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinoza. Pedro de Busto. Juan Montaño.[146] Frater Raimundus Amilinus. Francisco de Terrazas.

I Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil, that on the fifteenth day of the month of October of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificient Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain general of this armada for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle, actually and in reality for the said Señor Marques del Valle and in the name of the emperor, our master, king of Castile, took possession at the river Carrizal, which is in 27½°, placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to

[145] See the introduction for an account of his services. This was not the more famous Francisco de Terrazas who accompanied Cortes to Mexico and is usually supposed to be the author of the anonymous account of the conquest which was published by Ramusio. Very likely he was his nephew. As he had not taken his father's name, it is possible that he had taken his mother's name, Terrazas, on account of the high position which the elder Francisco de Terrazas held in Mexico.

[146] See the introduction for an account of his services.

defend it, with his sword cutting trees, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, taking water from the sea, and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done, Diego de Haro and Gonzalo Hidalgo and Francisco de Terrazas, inspector, and Martin Sanchez and Juan Montaño.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, recorded it as it occurred in my presence, and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in witness of the truth.

Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Diego de Haro. Gonzalo Hidalgo.[147] Juan Montaño. Francisco de Terrazas.

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil) that on the first day of the month of December of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this armada for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, actually and in reality took possession for the said señor marques and in the name of the emperor, our master, king of Castile in Santa Catalina bay at Punta de la Trinidad, which is in latitude 25°, placing his hand upon his sword, with it cutting trees, moving stones from one place to another, and from there to another, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done, Martin de Espinoza, Francisco de Terrazas, inspector, Francisco Preciado, Diego de Haro, and Juan Montaño.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, recorded it as it occurred in my presence, and in conclusion made here this my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth.

Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Juan Montaño. Martin de Espinoza. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, bear true testimony to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil) that on the twentieth day of the month of January of the year one thousand five hundred and forty, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this armada for the very illustrious Señor Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, actually and in reality took possession for the

[147] See the introduction for an account of his services.

said señor marques in the name of the emperor, our master, king of Castile, on Isla de los Cedros, which is in latitude 29½°, laying his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend it, with his sword cutting trees, moving stones from one place to another, and from there to another, taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done, Reverend Father fray Raimundo of the Order of Saint Francis, and Francisco Preciado and Martin de Espinoza and Pablo Blasco, master of the ship Trinidad.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada, recorded it as it occurred in my presence, and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth.

Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Frater Raimundus Anyelibus. Martin de Espinoza.

Said written relation and acts of possession having been presented in the manner aforesaid by the said Señor Francisco Sanchez de Toledo in the name of his said principal, the said señor alcalde took them into his hands and saw that they appeared to be not torn nor cancelled nor in any respect suspicious, and said that he ordered, as he did order, me the said notary public to make of it all one or two or more copies, authenticated in legal form and in such manner that they may serve as evidence, and to give them to the said Francisco Sanchez, each of which he said that he, being possessed of authority to do so, did thereby legalize, that it might serve as evidence in court or out of it, wherever it may appear.

And I, the said notary public, at the request and order of the said señor alcalde, made this said transcript of the said documents and gave it to the said Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, in the said name.

Done, this day, month and year aforesaid.

And the said señor alcalde signed it here with his name.

Witnesses who were present when this was done, and to see this read, corrected and made to agree with the said original, Geronimo Tirado and Juan de Leiva and Pedro Marques, transients in this city.

Juan de Burgos, notary for their majesties and notary public (Rubric).

And I, Alonzo Diaz de Gibraleon, one of the registered notaries of the said city of Mexico, was present in company with the said señor alcalde and with the other witnesses when the aforesaid was done, and I had this copy made, which is a true copy, and made here this, my mark [Mark here] in testimony of the truth.

Alonso Diaz de Gibraleon, notary public. (Rubric)

PLATE I

From a photograph, somewhat reduced, of a manuscript map in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. It is stated by Pedro Torres Lanzas in his catalogue of *Mapas, planas etc., de Mexico y Florida* to have been found accompanying the *acta* of possession of Santa Cruz by Cortes, among the papers relating to the dispute between Cortes, Mendoza, Alvarado, and De Soto. The *acta* is dated the 3rd of May, 1535, and certainly the map could not have been made at that time. On the whole, I think it was made after Ulloa had returned to Mexico in 1536 or 1537, and I believe it shows the extent of the explorations of Cortes and his men up to that time. The fact that the island in front of the harbor of La Paz is named "Las Perlas" and not "San Miguel," or "San Cristobal" as named by Cortes himself in May 1535, is a proof that the map was a later production.

The map is of interest as showing that Cape San Lucas had already been discovered, but from the peculiar prolongation of the coast to the west just north of this cape it is obvious that but little of the west coast had been seen. On the Sinaloa side the coast is shown to a short distance north of the Rio San Pedro y San Pablo. When this map was made it appears likely that this river was supposed to be the one now known as the Fuerte, but the corrections, evidently contemporary, of the names of the two rivers to the south show that this original conception was probably an error and that it was really the Sinaloa. This latter river had been discovered by Lope de Samaniego, at some distance from the mouth, in 1531. He called it the "Petatlan." In the summer of 1533, Diego de Guzman made an expedition north to the Yaqui, and on the Fuerte river found relics of the party of Hurtado de Mendoza, who it seems had been killed there. If Mendoza had named the San Pedro y San Pablo this would probably identify it with the Fuerte, but it is more probable that Cortes himself applied the name in 1535; and in view of Ulloa's description of the river, I think that it was undoubtedly the Sinaloa. The coast without names shown to the north of the river probably represents ideas gained from statements of the survivors of the expedition of Hurtado de Mendoza, although it is possible that Cortes himself may have seen this part of the coast without having landed and given any names.

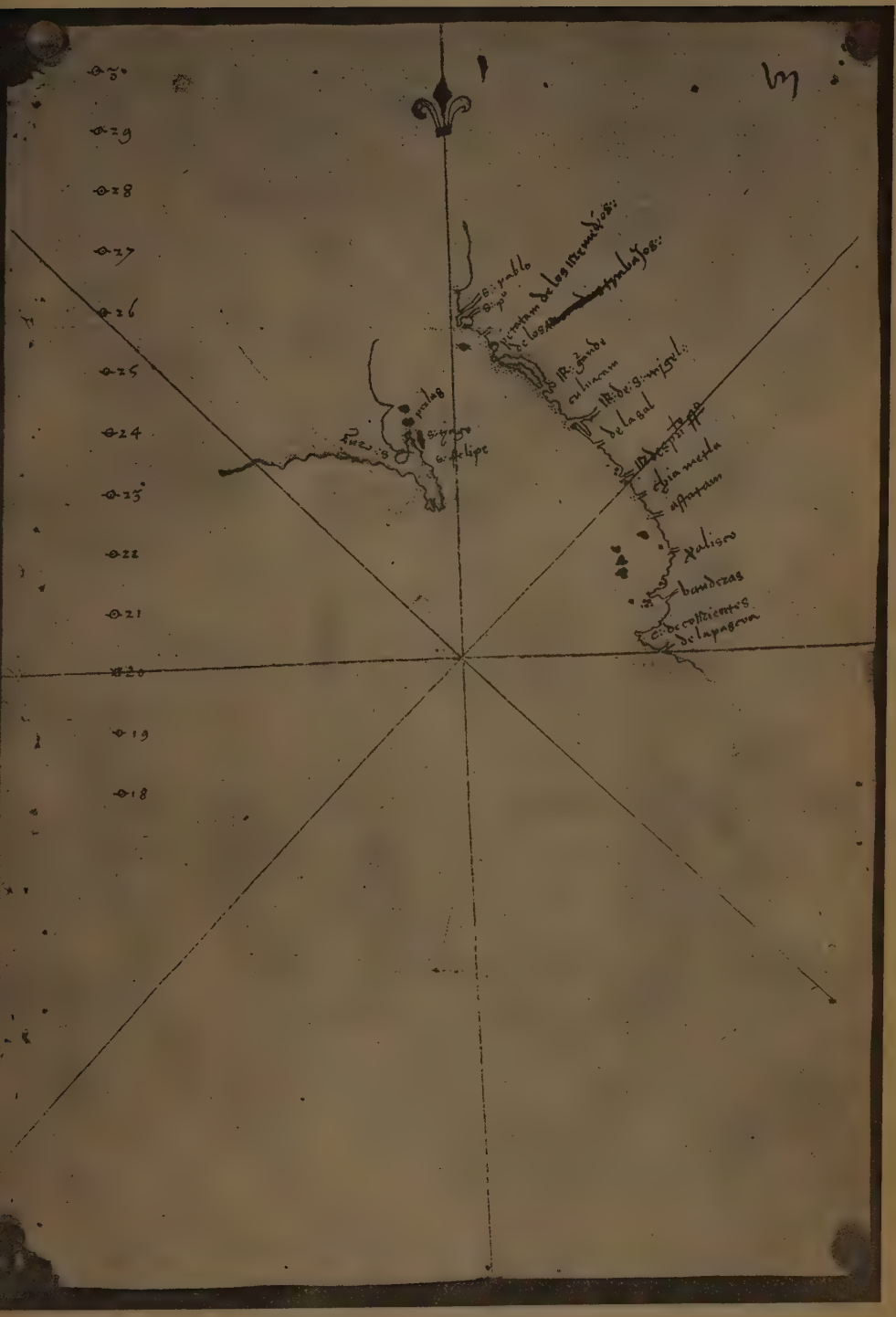
30°
29
28
27
26
25
24
23°
22
21
20
19
18
Fuez
Sigura
S. Felipe
Egia metha
Xalisco
bandeiras

PLATE II

From a photograph, original size, of a section of the manuscript map of Alonso de Santa Cruz, as reproduced by E. W. Dahlgren in 1892, from the only one known, now in the Royal library at Stockholm. The map is dated 1542, and is drawn in thirty-six gores divided between two hemispheres, north and south.

Above the gulf of California there is a legend, which, translated, reads: "The land to which Don Antonio de Mendoza sent out an exploring expedition." This probably refers to the expedition of Marcos de Niza of 1539, but it might refer to the Coronado expedition which started the following year. Dahlgren is of the opinion that the map shows no discoveries after 1539, and this seems obvious from a simple inspection. It seems manifest from numerous statements made by survivors of Cortes' expedition to California, as well as from various statements of Ulloa and Preciado, that Cortes believed the land which he called the "port of Santa Cruz" to be an island. Indeed hardly any other belief could have been entertained with the knowledge at hand; and this map depicts this belief which was soon to be shattered by Ulloa's voyage around the peninsula. No other sixteenth century map which I have seen shows California as anything but a peninsula. The map of Michael Lok which appeared in Hakluyt's *Divers voyages* in 1582 has the lower end of the peninsula very nearly severed, but I do not think that Lok had any idea that the lower part was actually an island.

As contemporary with the map shown in this plate it may be not amiss to mention the globe of the New York Historical Society dated 1542 and made by Ulpius. B. F. Da Costa, in January 1879 number of the Magazine of American History, gives a description of the globe and the American part is reproduced in George Parker Winship's *Coronado expedition.* Above is the inscription, *Maratta Reg.,* and just below this, *Civola,* then to the east *Tontonteac Reg.* Above all is *Avis Reg.* (probably an error for *Acus Reg.*) These names are all derived from Niza's relation, which could hardly have been known in Europe before 1540. Da Costa says that the peninsula of California is not shown, but it seems strange that Ulpius had not heard of Cortes' discoveries, which antedate those of Niza by three years at least.

I made a careful inspection of this globe in June of this year, and found that on the west coast at about 25° a bay is shown having a small projection to the south; the coast line then continues north some two degrees more, where it ends abruptly. I conclude that the bay is probably intended to represent the gulf of California, and the projection the peninsula, although both are considerably smaller than even those shown on the Santa Cruz map.

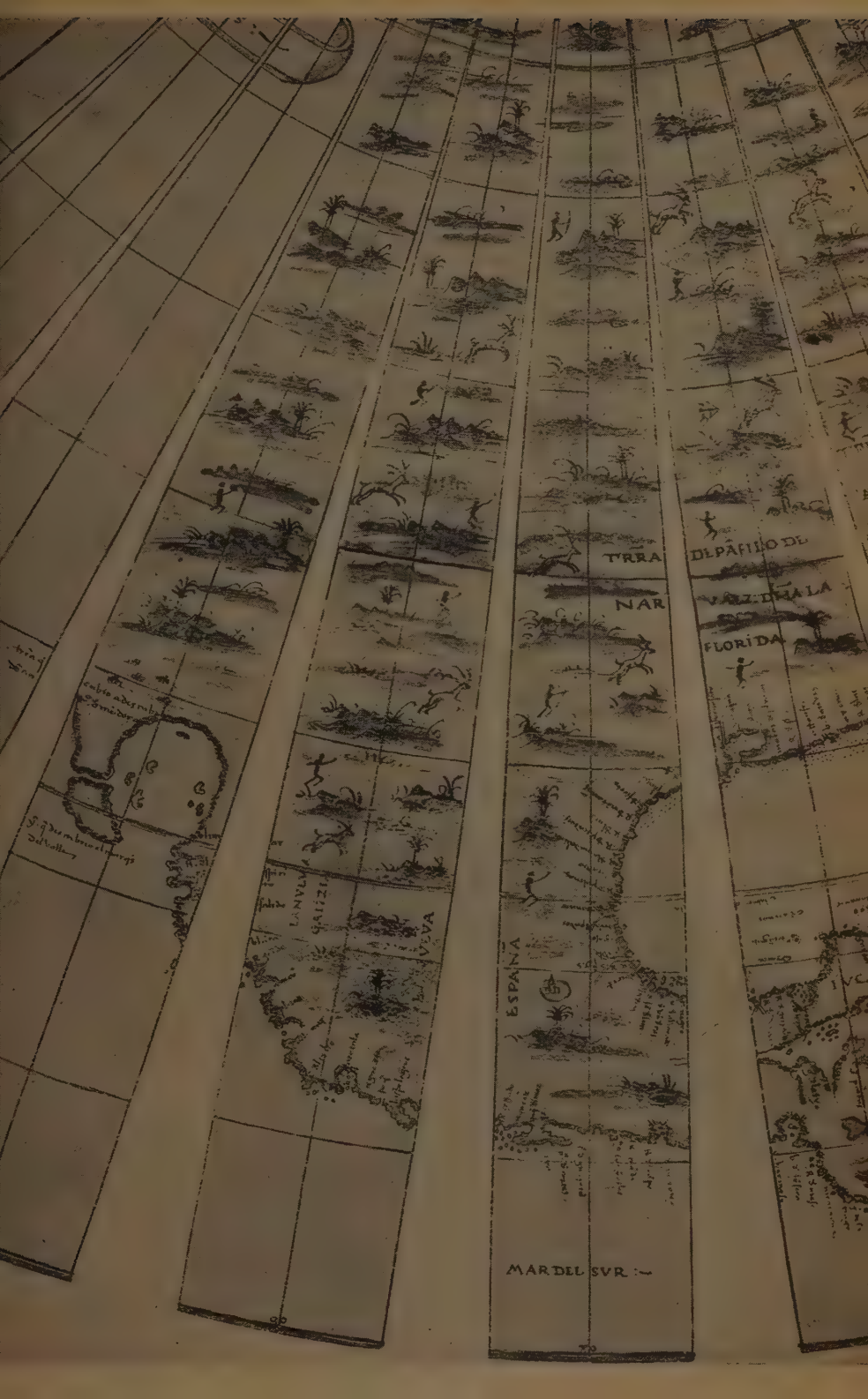
TRRA
NAR
DLPÂFILO DE
VAZ DE LA
FLORIDA
ESPAÑA
MAR DEL SVR :-

PLATE III

From a photograph of a small section of the famous Cabot planisphere, a printed map, of which the only copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The map was first reproduced by Jomard in his *Monuments de la geographie,* and afterwards, much reduced, by Winship in *The Coronado expedition,* published by the Smithsonian Institute in 1896.

There is doubt about when or where the map was printed, but one of the legends on the margin expressly states that it was made by Sebastian Cabot in 1544. It is likely that Cabot had Ulloa's map, or maps, and no later information, as it contains no record of the Alarcon expedition of the following year. Furthermore, it is the only map in which we find only names which can be found in either the Ulloa or Preciado narrative, with the exception of the two farthest north on the west coast—Islas de Cacenes and C. de Lengagno—and one I cannot make out, on the western branch of the Colorado, which Jomard calls "Mababeyo." It will be noted that on this map the cape Engaño is placed at nearly 32°, while the mouth of the Colorado river is a little short of 34°. It contains one peculiarity, moreover, in not showing any names on the eastern side of the peninsula.

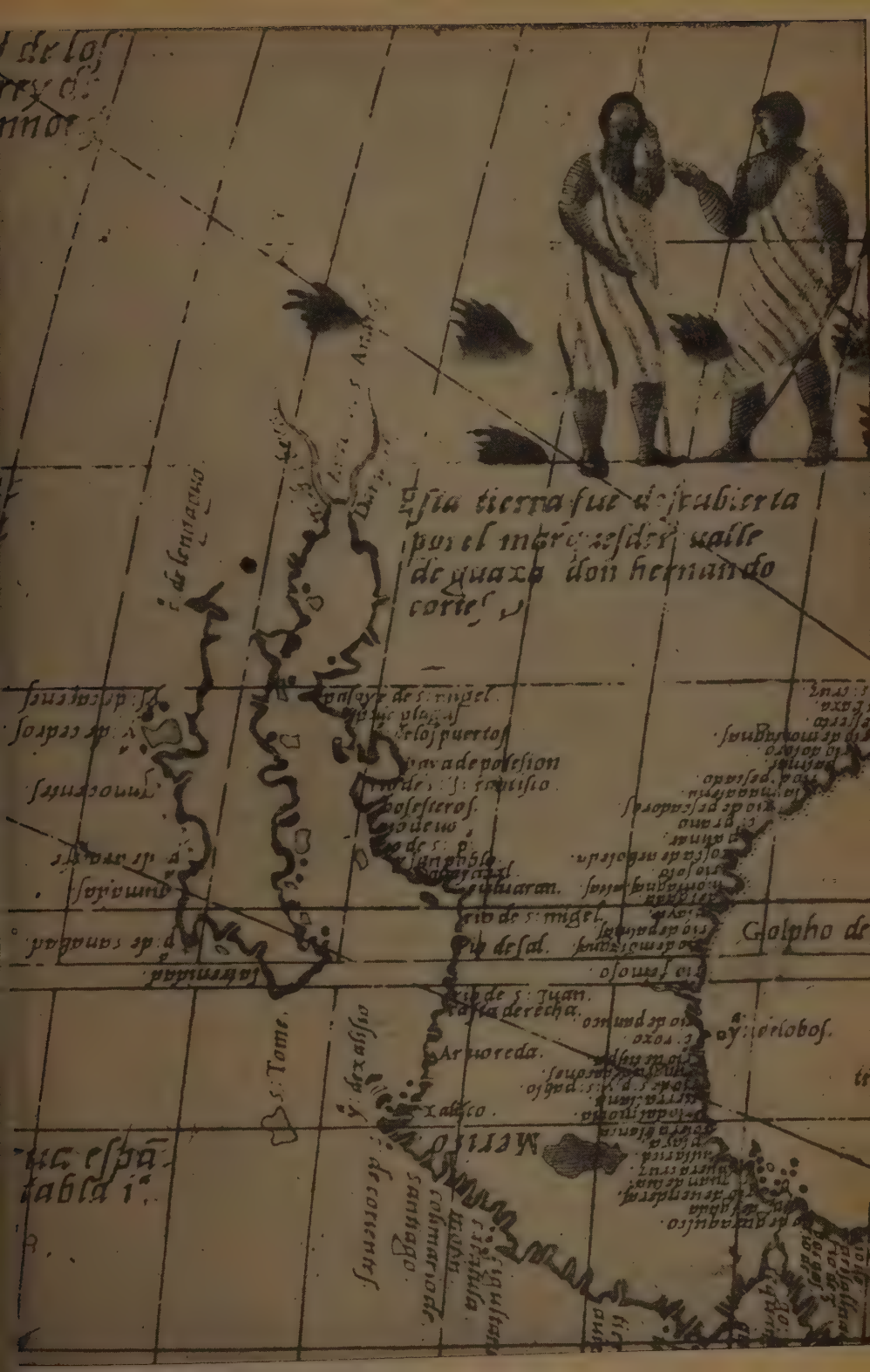
Esta tierra fue descubierta
por el muy esforçado valle
de Guaxaca don hernando
cortes
Golpho de
Mar roxo
Arboreda.
Xalisco.
Santiago.
Colimar
Tome.

PLATE IV

From Plate XXIV of the *Periplus* of Nordenskiöld, who reproduced the map from a portolan atlas in the Royal library at Stockholm. The atlas does not contain a map like my plates V and VI, but has one similar but without the peninsula of California, indicating that the atlas was made before those and before an account of the explorations of Ulloa had reached the author of the atlas, who we suppose to have been Battista Agnese from the similarity of the maps to those known to have been made by him.

The principal interest for us in this map is the group of islands in the Pacific opposite S. Michel and labelled "y. de Fernādo Cortese." In the north, on the mainland of Sonora and above, are some names from the account of Marcos de Niza, even including his Nuevo Regno de San Francisco. Apparently these names were obtained from the account and not from any map, and the islands of Fernando Cortes were probably also depicted from some written account. As Niza did not return to Culiacan until the fall of 1539 his account could hardly have been known in Spain till 1540, so this map cannot be earlier than 1540 nor later than 1543. Probably it was made about 1542. The outline of North America is intermediate between that of the 1536 maps of Agnese and the one adopted after the peninsula of California appeared on the maps of 1543.

CIRCVLVS ARTICVS
TROPICVS CANCRI
INSVLE MALVCHE
AEQVINOCTIALIS
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
CIRCVLVS ANTARTICVS
INDICVM MARE
CAPVT BONE SPERANZE

PLATE V

From a photograph, the size of the original, of a manuscript map in a portolan atlas in the Laurenziana library in Florence. One of the maps is signed "Battista Agnese," and dated February 12, 1543.

Agnese was an Italian cartographer living in Venice, who made a large number of manuscript portolan atlases ranging in date from 1536 to 1564, besides a number of undated ones. It seems probable that this is the earliest map to show California, the undated ones which show it probably all being later. The Huntington library has a map just like this, only on a somewhat larger scale. The delineation of the gulf and the peninsula is different from the Cabot map, and in some respects resembles the Castillo map. The nomenclature is Spanish, indicating a direct derivation from a Spanish source. Some errors have evidently occurred in copying, and a few names will be found on the map which cannot be traced to either the Ulloa or Preciado narratives, but there is no indication that they were derived from any account of the Alarcon expedition or any map of it. Beginning at the river San Pedro y San Pablo on the Sonora coast and reading the names around the gulf and up the west coast, we have the following (with the abbreviations written out): Bay of Santa Cruz, Rio Alboseda, San Francisco, Puertos, Punta Tabursa, Isla Blanca, Puerto Escondido, Baia Canoas, Baia de los S., Santa Cruz, Punta Balenas, Laguna de Santa Catalina, Baia de San Abad, Punta de Lea. (This word is probably *Tra* an abbreviation for *Trinidad,* although on later maps it appears as *Lea*), Ancoras, Basos, Islas San Esteban, Madalena, Isla Riparo, Los Cazones, Punta Engano. The "Rio Alboseda" and "Punta Tabursa" appear to be corruptions. "Alboseda" is probably a mistake for "Arboredo," and "Tabursa" appears to be an error for "Tiburon." They are both descriptive names, and probably occurred on the original map. The name "Madalena" on the west coast is apparently applied to the island of Natividad. The name also occurs on the Homem map of 1568 (Plate VIII).

TROPICVS CANCRI
INSVLE MALVCHE
Giololo
AEQVINOCTIALIS
PERV PROVINCIA
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
Labrador
estrecho de magallanes

PLATE VI

From a photograph, the size of the original, of a manuscript map in a portolan atlas in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is also by Battista Agnese, and is dated June 25, 1543. This map shows a few changes from the one reproduced in Plate V, the most notable one being the addition on the northeast coast of California of a name almost undecipherable, but which from later maps can be made out to be the Puerto de San Cristobal, the origin of which has not been discovered. There are a few more corruptions in the names on this map—for example, "Isla Blanca" becomes "P. Blanca"—but in general the map is the same as the one he made in February. In this form the map was reproduced for a number of years, and it was probably from these maps of Agnese that the nomenclature which appeared on the peninsula on nearly all of the later sixteenth century maps was taken. The principal difference between the names of Agnese and those of Cabot is in the use of "Ancoras" and "Basos" on the west coast for "Ahumadas" (or "Chumadas") and "Arasifes."

TROPICVS CANCRI
INSVLÆ MALVCHÆ
AEQVINOCTIALIS
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI

PLATE VII

From a photograph, slightly reduced, of a map to be found in Lorenzana's *Historia de Nueva España*, published in Mexico in 1770. The map has been reproduced a number of times, usually on a much smaller scale, as it has acquired considerable celebrity owing to the fact that it has the name "California" lengthwise at the lower end of the peninsula.

Castillo had not accompanied Ulloa but was one of Alarcon's pilots, and primarily the map depicts his discoveries. It seems, however, that he must have had some map of the Ulloa expedition as a model for the California part, unless he constructed this from some oral or written account. The map contains a number of errors, not only in the topography, but also in the nomenclature. These errors are especially noticeable on the previously known part of the coast of Sinaloa; and Orozco y Berra has remarked upon the extreme unreliability of the map, suggesting that it had been very badly copied from the original. In illustration it will be sufficient to point out that the name "Punta de Santiago" (which is given for Cape San Lucas and not so found on any other map or in any account) has evidently been shifted from the Sinaloa coast. The name "Cedros" for the island does not appear, but opposite two islands just north of it is placed the name "Punta de Cazones." Altogether the map is far inferior to the Cabot map, and my belief is that Castillo constructed it largely to minimize the discoveries of Ulloa and magnify those of Alarcon. Even the "Ancon de San Andres", as Ulloa called the Colorado river, is moved down a long distance on the Sonora coast to about 31°, where no semblance of a river appears. Cape Engaño is placed at 27½°, and from there the coast trends almost directly southeast to Cape San Lucas.

Este Mapa esta sacado de el Original que para en el Estado de el Marques de el Valle. Enlo alto pone una Ciudad, que entorazes o por Relaciones se creio cierta i la llamaron Quivira. En la desembocadura del Rio Colorado en el Golfo de Californias pone dos Rios el uno le llama de Buena Guia, i puede ser

PLATE VIII

From a photograph, original size, of a section of a manuscript map by Diego de Homem dated 1568, taken from a reproduction by Hantzsch and Schmidt in their *Kartographische Denkmäler zur Entdeckungsgeschichte von Amerika*, Leipzig, 1903. The original atlas is in the Royal library in Dresden, and contains a number of very beautiful maps. Homem paid great attention to the geography of the regions depicted, and in 1558 had made a map of California, now in the British Museum, which unfortunately has no names north of the lower part of the peninsula, although it is shown as extending perhaps as far as 40° of north latitude.

The California part of his map of 1568, which I reproduce, seems to have been taken from some Spanish original different from those on which the Cabot, Castillo and Agnese maps were based. Although made in 1568 it shows no traces of the Cabrillo expedition.

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THE VOYAGE OF HERNANDO DE ALARCON

What little we know about this voyage is derived from a letter written by Alarcon to the viceroy immediately after his return, the map of Domingo de Castillo, and one or two later maps which seem to have been based on some other source than that of Castillo. In his letter Alarcon gives very little information regarding his voyage, but devotes himself entirely to an account of the Indians which he encountered in his expeditions up the Colorado river. He had along an interpreter who probably spoke the Sobaipura dialect, and he finally found an Indian, probably a Maricopa, who understood his interpreter and who in turn understood the Yuma dialect. Between the two interpreters Alarcon managed to collect a large amount of information of doubtful value regarding the habits and customs of the Indians. Apparently the chief object of his mission, besides getting in contact with the army of Coronado, was to gather all the information possible regarding the Indians of Civola and the famous walled towns, so his questions were largely directed to that end. Some of the Indians questioned said that they knew the place, and some said that they did not, but it is quite probable that none of them knew what he was talking about.

In his letter Alarcon said that he would send the viceroy a full account of the expedition, which, however, up to the present time has not turned up. The letter fell into the hands of Ramusio, who printed it in Italian in 1556, in volume 3 of his *Navigationi et viaggi;* and from this Hakluyt made a translation, which he published in 1600 in volume 3 of his *Principal navigations.*

From what little information can be extracted from the letter, the map of Domingo de Castillo (Plate VII) and that of Diego de Homem (Plate VIII), there can be reconstructed a fairly satisfactory account of the expedition.

Alarcon says he set sail May 9, 1540, from some unnamed port and after encountering a heavy storm arrived at Santiago. According to Navarrete the expedition started from Acapulco, very likely the case, but Pedro Castañeda in his account of the Coronado expedition (Winship, *Coronado expedition,* page 478) says that the vessels sailed from Navidad, and that part of their mission was to carry a lot of the impedimenta of the soldiers who had gone with Coronado. Alarcon stopped at the port of Guayaval and took on board this material for Coronado's army, together, no doubt, with food for the army, which Coronado says he left at Culiacan to be carried by the fleet.

Very little reliance can be placed on Castillo's map, and for the location of places the one of Diego de Homem is even somewhat less illuminating. The first name given by Alarcon, evidently was "Rincon de la Madalena" (Castillo's map), named July 22. This is placed south of the San Pedro y San Pablo river and north of the port of Petatlan, which seems to indicate that he, Castillo, intended to show that the San Pedro y San Pablo was the Fuerte river and not the Sinaloa. If the position on the map is correct, the place probably corresponds to the port of Topolobampo. July 25 the bay of Santiago was named. On Castillo's map this appears just north of Ulloa's bay of the "Esteros," or "Fieros" as Castillo has it, and south of C. Bermejo. What the bay of Santiago really is it is hard to say. Cabo Bermejo may be the cape now known as "Point Rosa," but more probably Arboledo point. On Homem's map the G. de papagaios and R. de alboledis intervene between the bay of Santiago and C. Bermejo. Then follow on Castillo's map some Ulloa names, and just north of the Puerto de Puertos appears "Alaguna del Rastro", very likely what is now known as the "Estero Soldado," or possibly the "Estero de Tastiota". Then follows the Puerto de San Justin, named August 6. Homem calls this "San Agustin", evidently a misreading. Then follow a few names which give no indication of when applied; then the Puerto de Santa Clara, named August 12, possibly that now known as "Libertad anchorage". August 15 they named the Punta de Santa Maria; then next to this is the Ancon de San Andres, Ulloa's name for the mouth of the Colorado river, but here placed at a long distance from it; then the Punta de Buena Esperanza, which I cannot identify; the Estero Ondo, probably the Santa Clara mouth of the Colorado; and then the Cabo de Cruz. In the gulf appears the Punta de San Esteban about opposite the "Diantes", as Castillo has it. The expedition must have arrived at the mouth of the river about August 17 or 18.

Alarcon, August 26, left to make an expedition up the river, which employed over two weeks. He was back again before September 14, when he named the country about the mouth of the river the "Campaña de la Cruz", no doubt the same as the "Cabo de Cruz" of Castillo. From this point, according to the map, the gulf widens out and extends two degrees farther north, an obvious falsification. At the end of these two degrees are the mouths of two rivers, which on Castillo's map enter into the gulf at about 33½°, and on Homem's map at about 34½°. The one on the east side Castillo calls the "Brazo de Miraflores," and the other the "Rio de buena Guia". Only the mouth of the latter is shown, while the Miraflores extends north northeast to about 36½°. Now in the Alarcon account noth-

ing whatever is said about the Miraflores, but it is stated distinctly that the river he ascended he called the "Buena Guia"; and in one place he says that he ascended it eighty-five leagues, and in another that he sailed beyond Ulloa four degrees of latitude, and that Ulloa's pilots were in error in placing the point farthest north reached by them. This was true, but Alarcon, who thus tacitly admits that he found the mouth of the Colorado in 31°, proves himself guilty of falsification by saying that he went four degrees farther north, and also proves his pilot Castillo guilty of still greater falsification, as in his map he places the mouth of the Colorado in 33½° and extends the river up to 36½°.

It has been customary to identify the Miraflores with the Gila, which may be correct, but the Castillo map does not so show it. Alarcon nowhere mentions the Gila, nor any river which enters the Buena Guia from the east. Homem's map, on the contrary, plainly shows the Miraflores as the short river corresponding perhaps to that now known as the "Santa Clara".

Alarcon made a second trip up the Colorado, and there has been much speculation as to the highest point which he reached. The indications are that he did not get very far above the canyon just north of Yuma. The actual distance from the mouth of the river to Yuma, by its winding course, is about one hundred and fifty miles (but only fifty miles in an air line), and he might possibly have gone fifty miles farther.

Evidently while Alarcon was away, the Santa Catarina, one of his vessels, made a reconnaissance of the California coast, as on the Castillo map appears at a point, possibly Ometepes bay, the name "Puerto Abrigo del Navio Santa Catarina". The *sierra* near the coast is called the "Sierra de los Tivrios". What that means I do not know. This expedition also discovered the channel which connects at high water the delta of the Colorado with the Laguna Salada, as appears from the name "Brazo de la Laguna".

It is obvious from the names scattered along the Sonora shore that Alarcon followed the coast very closely, as he was no doubt expected to do under his instructions.

Oviedo, *Historia general y natural* IV, 17, says that he received a map of this expedition from Nicolas Zamorano, another pilot with Alarcon. It is very probable that the Homem map was derived from this Zamorano map, which Oviedo says extended as far north as 37°, or from some copy of it, as it does not correspond in many respects to the Castillo map. For one thing it does not contain the obvious falsifications of the Castillo map.

THE VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO DE BOLAÑOS

There are various indications that sometime subsequent to the year 1540 an expedition had been sent out by the viceroy Mendoza to explore the west coast of California, different from that of Rodriguez Cabrillo. Mendoza himself refers to the expedition in two different documents. In the spring of 1541 Mendoza issued some instructions to Hernando de Alarcon for a second expedition to the mouth of the Colorado river. The document will be found in Buckingham Smith's *Documentos para la historia de Florida*. It is dated May 31, and in one place Mendoza says that "in the instructions given to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, who goes by the coast as captain, there is a chapter in which he is told to take much care to find out about the people who have gone by land [i.e. Coronado], and those which you are taking by the *ancon*." This plainly indicates that Mendoza was at that time preparing to send out an expedition along the west coast of the peninsula.

Sometime in 1544 or 1545, Mendoza sent a letter to his agent in Spain, Juan de Aguilar; and the instructions he gave him are still extant, or at least were when Juan Bautista Muñoz copied them in the latter part of the eighteenth century. From Muñoz' copy the instructions were printed by Smith in the work above referred to. Mendoza, after giving an account of his work in the matter of the Villalobos expedition, proceeds to give a history of his activities in exploration. The document is of great interest, but this is not the place to give the account in full. It is sufficient to say that in the course of this letter he states that he had on three different occasions sent ships to explore the coast and had discovered it up to the 44° of latitude at his own heavy cost. Now we have a record of only two expeditions sent out by him—the one of Alarcon in 1540 and that of Rodriguez Cabrillo in 1542. Of the other no contemporary record remains. So far no evidence has been produced that Alarcon made the second expedition for which the instructions were issued to him, but Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in his *Biblioteca maritima Española*, and in his introduction to the *Viaje de las goletas Sutil y Mexicana* printed in 1802, refers to a relation by one Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, from which it appears that he had some account of an expedition to the west coast written in Guadalaxara in 1574. When I was in Spain I made a vigorous search in the Archives in Seville to find this document, and since then I have had a further search made, but all without avail. I have therefore had to fall back upon the copy which Navarrete made in 1799 and which is to be found as No.

28 of his collection in the library of the Direccion General de Navegacion in Madrid. The fact that the original cannot be located is the more to be regretted inasmuch as the copy contains what are evidently numerous errors. Nevertheless, as probably the original may never be found in the Archives, I have translated the copy made by Navarrete, and present the same herewith.

From this it appears that an expedition under the command of Captain Francisco de Bolaños was sent out by Mendoza and reached some point on the west coast of the peninsula of California, possibly two hundred miles north of Magdalena bay. The fact alluded to by Fernandez de Ladrillero, that the expedition returned in time for his ship to be sent out in the summer of 1542 with Villalobos, would indicate that the expedition took place in the latter part of 1541 or early in 1542, and evidence corroborative of this exists.

Rodriguez Cabrillo had with him on his expedition in 1542 either a map of Ulloa's voyage or some account of it, as can be seen from some of the names which he used; and he also must have had an account of some other voyage, as he used names for places which were certainly not given by Ulloa, and apparently not given by him. These names are five in number, or possibly six. They are in the following order going north: Puerto de California, Puerto de San Lucas, Puerto de San Pedro, Baia de San Martin, Punta de Santa Catalina, and possibly Abreojos. Leaving aside the first—Puerto de California—as affording no indication of when the name was given, we can deduce from the saints' names employed in the others that San Lucas was named October 18, San Pedro October 23, San Martin November 11, and Santa Catalina November 25, all at a time of the year when Cabrillo was far up the coast of Upper California. It is a little uncertain whether Abreojos had been previously named or was named by Cabrillo. It will be noted that Fernandez de Ladrillero in his account mentions only the Puerto de California, Puerto de San Lucas, and Baia de San Martin, but adds one—San Mateo *—which does not occur in the Cabrillo account. The evidence seems conclusive that these places were named by Bolaños on his expedition which must have left the coast of New Spain somewhere in September or early October of 1541. The bay of San Pedro is what is now known as Magdalena bay, and Bolaños must have spent some time there. This is also proved by the remark of Cabrillo, who, although he did not enter the bay, stated that neither wood nor water was to be found there, thus indicating plainly that he had an account of someone who had been there

* This name does not occur on any map nor in any other account that I have discovered, and it seems likely that it is an error.

before. As Ulloa had not entered the bay, this statement furnishes additional evidence that Cabrillo had an account of Bolaños voyage.

It will be noticed that Fernandez de Ladrillero in his account says that they went eighty leagues beyond these bays, until they encountered a heavy northwest storm and were forced to go back to what he calls "California". Whether he means the California which he previously referred to as a *puerto*, or, generally speaking, some port at the southern end of the peninsula, cannot be known. His "Puerto de California" was probably the small bay south of Los Frailes, which are in 23° 23′, that is, the southeast point of the peninsula of Lower California,* and it might be a fair inference that this expedition named that point, as it named San Lucas and other places. In the deposition "California" is also referred to, as a general name apparently; but of course this might easily have occurred in 1574 when the name was already beginning to be applied as a general term for the peninsula. That the expedition did not get so far north as Cedros is apparent from Fernandez de Ladrillero's answer to the question about islands, in which he names none on the west coast of the peninsula.

It will also be noted that Fernandez de Ladrillero says nothing about Lopez de Zuñiga, but on the contrary distinctly states that the general in command of the expedition was Francisco de Bolaños. Nevertheless there is some evidence that Lopez de Zuñiga actually accompanied the expedition. In a *relacion de servicios* of one Lope Xaramillo, published by Icaza (No. 947), it is stated that he served with Alvarado and went on a conquest of certain provinces with Diego Lopez de Zuñiga.

Fernandez de Ladrillero himself made a declaration, about 1549 or 1550, also published by Icaza (No. 723), in which he said that he came to New Spain with the fleet of Alvarado as chief pilot, and went as pilot with Captain Bolaños on the voyage of discovery toward the west by order of Mendoza. Icaza also published (No. 1354) a *relacion de servicios* of one Antonio Correa in which he said that he had gone with Captain Bolaños and with Juan Rodriguez (i.e. Cabrillo).

In the declaration as herewith translated there is a certain discrepancy in the dates. In answer to the first interrogatory the witness states that he has served *twenty-eight* years in the South sea. If the

* This point is a few miles south of Cape Pulmo, which is usually considered to be the southeast point of California. There is a small bay between Los Frailes and Cape Pulmo, as well as the one south of Los Frailes. While not conclusive, this account furnishes some further indication that the name "California" was originally applied to something in this vicinity, either a point or a port. On the Gutierrez map, the first on which the name appears, it is applied to a cape—either Cape Pulmo or Los Frailes—the small scale of the map does not enable us to differentiate between two points so close together.

declaration was made in 1574, as stated, this would indicate that he had begun his career in the South sea in the year 1546—that is to say, five years after the expedition which he mentions in the answer to the second interrogatory. As he says that he first came to New Spain in 1535 with Mendoza, it is probable that he went to Guatemala at that time, and what he meant was that he had been *thirty-eight* years navigating the South sea; unless it may be that the date of the declaration in Guadalaxara is incorrect and should be 1564 instead of 1574. Doctor Orozco was certainly president of the audiencia in December 1574, but he was not acting in that capacity in December 1564; therefore it seems more probable that the twenty-eight years mentioned by Fernandez de Ladrillero is an error for thirty-eight years. At the time I examined in Seville, in 1923, the papers of the audiencia of Guadalaxara, I found no reference whatever to any investigation of this character, nor did I find any mention of any foreign vessels' being in the South sea at that time or previous thereto. The story was evidently a fable, and the only way that I can account for it is that the Spanish court had sent out to Mexico some story about an expedition contemplated in England, destined to the South sea. Such expeditions were more or less in the air at that court for several years prior to that undertaken by Drake in 1577, and several references will be found to them by the Spanish ambassadors. In May, 1574, the ambassador wrote that Grenville was preparing a voyage for the South sea, and this possibly brought about the investigation in Guadalaxara in December of that same year.

DECLARATION OF JUAN FERNANDEZ DE LADRILLERO

In the city of Guadalaxara on the 13th of December, 1574, the illustrious doctor Geronimo de Orozco, president of the royal audiencia which has its seat in the city of Guadalaxara, governor and captain-general of all the new kingdom of Galicia, and of the council of his majesty, in the presence of me, Luis Velez Cherino, *escribano de cámara* of the said royal audiencia, having looked at all that has been written in this case about the ships which they say have been seen in the South sea on the coast of Compostela in the valley of Vanderas, at what they say is the Punta de los Frayles, in order to get more information and to ascertain the truth of what has been stated above, or can be known, ordered an information to be made by the pilots and the seamen who are skillful and acquainted with the navigation of the coast, in which they should say and declare what they knew or what could be known in regard to the statements above made, so

that his majesty and the royal council of the Indies should be better informed of what truth there is or can be about the said ships' having been seen; and so that, in view of the said information and other circumstances, he could order what is convenient for the royal service; and for the record he ordered to appear before him the following persons: [Something evidently omitted here.]

And in order to ascertain what had occurred regarding this matter he ordered to appear before him Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, a resident of the town of Colima, who, having sworn by God, His Holy Mother, the words of the Holy Evangelists and the sign of the Cross, promised to tell the truth, and the following questions were asked him: what his age is, what occupation he has, where he was born, how long ago he came to this country, where he has resided during the time he has been here, and if married or single.

He answered that he is more than sixty years of age; and that in the year 35 [i.e. 1535] he was examined to be a pilot, in the city of Seville, by Sebastian Gaboto, the pilot major, and other pilots, and they gave him his certificate; and up to the present time he has served his majesty in the said occupation not only in the North sea but also in the South sea; and that after he was examined to be a pilot he made three voyages from Spain to these parts, and on one of them brought Don Antonio de Mendoza who was viceroy of New Spain, and before he became a pilot he made eleven voyages from Spain to these parts; at the time he brought the said Don Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, he remained in New Spain; and he has navigated in the South sea twenty-eight years, having served at all times his majesty in all the voyages which have offered in the said sea; that he is a native of the town of Moguer in the district of Niebla, and there he has his family connections; that he is married, and is a resident of Colima because Don Antonio de Mendoza ordered him to live there in order to take charge of the fleets of his majesty.

Asked that he, who as such a pilot has navigated and discovered all this coast of the South sea towards the islands of the west by the order of the said viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, should declare what ports and islands and beaches there are where ships can anchor along the said coast and district of this kingdom of New Galicia; he answered that in all of these parts along the said coast which this witness has navigated—a matter of some five hundred leagues—ships of any size can anchor or find shelter, because all the coast is clean and there are no storms which can do them any damage, unless it might be a southeast wind; the ports which there are from the port of Navidad towards the islands of the west, in these five hundred

leagues which this witness has navigated, are the port of Chiamela, that of the valley of Vanderas, Chimetla, although this has dangerous shoals, that of Culiacan, which has the same, Guayabal where the marques took on supplies, that of California, that of San Lucas where there is a quantity of tunny fish, the bay of San Martin, and that of San Mateo where there is a great quantity of fish like that of Spain—sole, horse mackerel, and dog fish of all kinds, which they call in Castile, *follos*, especially in Andalusia—and many other kinds of fish which are found in the country of the witness, especially a great quantity of sardines just like those of Spain; the fleet (of three all told) with which this witness went as captain and pilot, in the ship belonging to his majesty called the San Gabriel, went eighty leagues beyond all these bays and ports, and one Friday in the afternoon at the hour of vespers, while in sight of some very high mountains which the people on board the fleet named the "Sierras de Fuegos" because of the very large fires which the Indians of the land made there, a great storm struck them, and with the wind, which was what they call a north-northwest wind, the Capitana and the Almiranta broke their masts so that it was necessary to go back more than two hundered leagues for shelter, contrary to the wish and opinion of this witness, because he wished to go on as the viceroy had ordered.

Asked if in the ports which this witness has spoken of, or in the other parts of the said coast, he saw or knows of any settled people, and if so what people they are and in what parts they are; he answered that along the coast there are uncivilized Indians, and from Culiacan on they are all people of warlike character.

Asked what number of people there may be on the coast about which this witness has declared that he has navigated; he answered that in the bays and shores which he has referred to there was some show of people; and that at some places they came to see this witness and the people who were with him, leaving their bows and arrows in order to talk with him, and they did talk and they gave to this witness and his companions some colored head-dresses, and beads, and other things which they carried, and the said Indians received them with good will, but they did not give them, nor were they willing to give them, anything to eat, nor show them where water was to be found, although this witness and the company were in great need of it; they did not find it however, nor could they find it in the many parts where they looked for it.

Asked if, in the places where this witness and others on this voyage were, they saw or discovered any islands, he should declare in what parts they were discovered, how far they are one from the other, and

what the distance is from this kingdom and coast to the said islands; he answered that off the valley of Vanderas there are and this witness saw five islands west thereof, about twelve leagues more or less from the said port of Vanderas, and that he has been around all of them and between them more than five times, and some of them are more than fourteen leagues around; they are called "the islands of Xalisco"; beyond these about twenty leagues there is another island called "Las Marias", which is the one off the cape at the mouth of the Rio de Cintiguipaquè, about three leagues from land, more or less, and which is about five leagues around; and that in all the rest of the course which this witness sailed he does not know of any other islands.

Asked if in these islands, or in any one of them, there are any settled people, and what quantity there might be, and what kind they are; he answered that in the island of Las Marias where this witness landed, he saw no people, and whether there are any or not on the other islands he does not know, although he has heard it said that there are some.

Asked, if he knows or has any information whether, on the said islands where this witness has gone and has made discovery, there is any gold, or silver, pearls or precious stones, or other things of value and esteem, that he should declare what he knows particularly about this matter, or has heard about it; he answered that in California this witness set foot on land in the port of San Lucas and went inland two or three leagues with six men with their arms, and came to a rancheria where they found fifteen or twenty Indians who were fishing; the said Indians had pearls hanging from their hair about the size of the end of a finger, *melgerite* and *berruecos*[1] and they were dressed in deer skins; this witness took two women and two boys in order to make interpreters out of them, and brought them in the ship to Mexico, where he gave them to the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza; as these Indians had these pearls, and as he saw many oyster shells and oyster deposits in the sea, this witness considers it certain that there is a quantity of oysters and pearls along the coast which this witness has navigated; these pearls are found in some places more than in others; and the same is true of these islands which this witness says he saw and went around, but he knows nothing about any of the other things asked about.

Asked, if he knows or has any notice that on said coast beyond where this witness went there is any strait from the South sea to that

[1] I cannot say what he meant by these words, but the first seems to be an error for *margarita*—a seashell, or sometimes, a pearl. It might even be an error for *marquesita*—pyrites. *Berruecos* may be a round stone of some kind.

of the North through which ships could pass from one sea to the other, that he should declare in great particularity what he knows about this, and in what part the strait is if any, and what he has heard said about it and understands about it; he answered that what there is and what he knows about it is this: that this witness and the others who were with him had the intention of discovering a strait which this witness understands exists between the South sea and the North sea, and which, according to his information, disembogues where the English go after codfish; and if this witness had been alone with the ship and the people who were in it, he would have gone in search of this strait and would have sailed until he had seen it, but on account of the contrary weather which they encountered, and the bad treatment of the ships, they returned as related above, and did not finish their voyage; and they remained in California, and from there sent to advise the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who ordered them to return, as at that time Villalobos was going to sail for the islands of the Maluccas and it was necessary for him to take the ships in which this witness and others had sailed, in order to carry the people which he had to take to the said islands to the west; and so it was that the said ships served for that voyage, and the discovery of the strait remained as it is up to today; and that this witness is certain that there is such a strait and that it is eight hundred leagues more or less from Compostela.

Asked how he knows and what he has heard, and from what persons, that there is such a strait; he answered that when this witness was in the port of Navidad about to go on the voyage of discovery of this coast and of the strait, Don Luis de Castilla, *caballero* of the order of Santiago, came to the port by order of the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, to deliver the ships to the general, who was called Francisco de Bolaños.[2] He delivered them, and together with them he delivered to the general an extract from a letter from his majesty the emperor, our master (who is in glory), in which he told the viceroy that a certain Portuguese gentleman, whom the king of Portugal held as prisoner, had written him and had told him that he, the said gentleman, had discovered the strait and passed through it from one sea to the other, and on account of having given out a notice of this they held him prisoner in Portugal. Besides all of this, this witness has heard many pilots and seamen who have sailed with him say, and especially did he hear an English sailor who sailed with this witness more than twenty-seven years ago say that, in company with

[2] It is hardly possible that this Bolaños could be the same as the Francisco de Bolaños who accompanied Vizcaino. Possibly he was the father of the latter.

other Englishmen going from England on a voyage after codfish, they had been inside of the said strait; he does not remember the name of the Englishman, but on account of the experience which he has had of matters of the sea this witness considers it certain and true that there is such a strait, and that it can be navigated; and although the witness is old and weary, if his majesty orders it he will endeavor to discover it.

Asked, if the witness knows or has heard in any manner that by this strait there have passed any ships from the North sea to the South sea, that he should declare what people have passed, what number of ships, and to what nation they belong; he answered that he repeats what he said to the preceding interrogatories, and that it is about a year and a half, more or less, since he heard it said by many people in these kingdoms of New Spain and New Galicia that there were going about in the South sea twenty-seven ships which it was believed had entered by the said strait, which they call that of the Bacalaos; that they were English or French; and that this witness had offered the said señor presidente to go and see and find out what people they were; and this witness understands and considers it certain that by the said strait the said ships could enter, and many others, and could make fortifications in the said strait and in other places in the South sea, where they could fortify themselves and make settlements, and from there come down to all the ports and bays in all the South sea, as well as to those which are discovered in this kingdom and that of New Spain which are uninhabited and without defense, because only miserable Indians live in the neighborhood and in most places are very few in number; and the said ships could also reach Panama and the coast of Peru, where they could do great damage to his majesty; and the South sea could not be navigated with the same freedom as up to the present; and those who came in by the strait would become masters of all the South sea without encountering resistance; and that he knows what he has said because he has navigated in these parts in the service of his majesty twenty-eight years, for he came as a pilot major of the fleet which Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was governor of Guatemala, brought on a voyage of discovery, consisting of ten ships with topmasts, a galley, a *fusta*,[3] and a *frigata*,[4] with 565 Spaniards; coming on this voyage they stopped at the port of Santiago de Colima,[5] where Don Pedro de Alvarado

[3] A small vessel with lateen sails.

[4] i.e. *fragata*, a word in general use among the Spaniards in the sixteenth century for any full rigged vessel which did not have the numerous decks of a man-of-war.

[5] Santiago de Buena Esperanza, now called Manzanillo.

received news that all the new kingdom of Galicia had revolted and he was asked to come to the aid of the said kingdom; and while in this port the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza wrote to him that he should stop there with the fleet and go to the help of this kingdom; which he did, and took part in the pacification of the land; and that in the defense of the said kingdom Don Pedro was killed; and this witness and 180 seamen remained with the *almirante* guarding the ships; and also that this witness by order of the Marques del Valle went with a vessel to Panama, loaded with supplies, in aid of Pasqual de Andagoa when he went to discover the Mangranes and the Borbona, and also in the other voyages of which he has related; and he will serve in those of his majesty when ordered; and if it should be necessary he will go to the strait with fifty Spanish seamen in a *patax*[6] or ship which his majesty may order to be given to him, and will do away with the doubt whether any settlements or people are in the said strait.

Asked, if he knows or has any information that any people have seen on the coast of Compostela or the valley of Vanderas any ship, or if he has heard anything about it, that he should say from whom, and where, and when, and how many ships have been seen; he answered that he says what he has already said in answer to the previous interrogatories, and that he does not know anything about what is asked more that what he has already said.

Asked if this witness understands that there might have passed by the said strait of Bacalaos any ships of foreigners, such as the English, or French, or other nations; he answered that this witness believes and considers it certain, as he said in answer to the preceding interrogatories, that all vessels that wish, of all nations such as the French, English, or any other nation whatever, can enter by the said strait into the sea of the South, and navigate there throughout; and that the one who fortifies it the most strongly can prevail over the others; and he knows this as a person who has had the great experience above referred to .

Asked if he knows or has heard it said that the said ships and people who were in them have done any damage along the coast of the South sea, and if so, in what parts and what damage they have done, or if they have taken any supplies of bread, or whether they have taken any water or wood or other things; he answered that he does not know.

Asked, if the said foreign ships passed through the said strait,

[6] A tender attached to a larger vessel, frequently used for dispatch purposes.

what damage they could do, and in what part or places along the coast of the South sea his majesty could order preventative measures so as to suffer no attack or damage, but even attack any enemies, whoever they are, who should pass through the said strait; he answered that he repeats what he said in answer to the preceding interrogatories, and that it would be expedient that his majesty should prepare for defense against the said ships; and he knows this from what he has previously recounted, and because he has navigated as previously mentioned, and also because this witness went to Peru from these parts in a ship by order of Don Antonio, the viceroy, when Peru was in rebellion, which might be twenty-three years ago, more or less, in order to carry certain dispatches; and that he carried them and brought back the answer; and that he saw all of the said sea even to Peru, and is well acquainted with it.

And this is the truth, and what he knows, by the oath that he has taken, and he has signed with his name, which he affirms and ratifies. Doctor Orozco. Juan Fernandez. Before me, Luis Velez Cherino.

Copied, corrected and compared with the original from which it was taken, in the city of Guadalaxara, on the 20th of December, 1574. Witnesses: Pedro Minez and Juan de Virbes, residents of this city.

[Then follows Velez Cherino's certification.]

HENRY R. WAGNER.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

On Tuesday, October 28, Mr. Grant H. Smith addressed the Society on "Bodie in 1879." There were present a number of ex-Bodieites attracted by the chance to hear stories about the old days. Mr. Smith was a boy of about fourteen years when he went to Bodie in 1879, but the stirring adventures of those days left a vivid impression on his memory. His very interesting address will be printed in the March number of the *Quarterly*.

On Tuesday, the 25th of November, at the luncheon at the Hotel St. Francis, Mr. Charles B. Turrill addressed the Society on "The First Transcontinental Railroad." The time at his disposal did not permit the speaker to do any more than give an account of the inception and construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. Although the idea of a transcontinental railroad was not new, and in fact had been the football of politics in Washington for a number of years, the construction of the Central Pacific was strictly a Californian idea, conceived by a Californian—Theodore D. Judah—and carried to final success by a group of other Californians—Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins and Crocker. Judah unfortunately died before the completion of the work, so his name is almost forgotten, the main credit for the enterprise being given to the "Big Four."

Mr. Turrill illustrated his lecture with a number of lantern slides, mostly taken from contemporary photographs. The most interesting were those of the old engines, cars, and the various phases of construction, ending with the picture showing the driving of the last spike, taken from an actual photograph. Mr. Turrill remarked that this was an entirely authentic picture, wherein it differed from the famous painting of Mr. Tom Hill, who incorporated into the group of spectators a number of leading citizens who were not present at that particular moment.

The speaker paid a great tribute to the persistence, energy and ability of the "Big Four," who, he said, were less interested in furthering their own fortunes than in performing a patriotic act in binding together the east and the west.

IN MEMORIAM

Mrs. John Caperton Hays (Anna McMullin)

Death has again taken from us one whose passing recalls to mind some of our state's earliest settlers, for Mrs. John C. Hays was connected with two of our foremost pioneer families—one by birth and one by marriage.

John Coffee Hays (Colonel Jack Hays), a sturdy Tennessean who organized the famous Texas Rngers, and John McMullin, another of Tennessee's noble sons and a captain of one of its companies, after the close of the Mexican War and the performance of a federal commission that settled the Indian troubles in the Southwest, headed for California and reached San Diego on the last day of December, 1849.

Anna McMullin, the latter's daughter, born in Sacramento in 1859, married John Caperton Hays of Oakland, a son of Colonel Jack Hays, who settled in the hills back of Oakland at a place since known as "Jack Hays Canyon."

Mrs. Hays passed away at the home of her son in Piedmont, September 9, 1924, after a brief illness. She is survived by her mother, Mrs. John McMullin; two sons, John Coffee Hays of Boston, and Harry T. Hays of Piedmont; and two sisters, Mrs. Charles L. Weller of San Diego, and Mrs. E. B. Perrin of Arizona. Her late home was at Three Rivers, Tulare County, on the highway to the Sequoia National Park and the Kern River Canyon.

She was an indefatigable worker, and had assembled much genealogical and historical material pertaining to the Hays and McMullin families, and had for a long time been gathering historical data pertaining to the lower San Joaquin Valley.

Fred M. DeWitt.

Henry Byron Phillips

In the passing of Henry Byron Phillips at his home in Berkeley, November 22, 1924, California has lost one of her most valued citizens. Born in Scituate, Rhode Island, June 5, 1850, he came to California with his father, Albert Alexander Phillips, in 1863, and spent his early years on the old Branciforte Rancho, near Santa Cruz. Later, he was a student at Heald's Business College, San Francisco, and upon graduation became bookkeeper for a firm dealing in hides and tallow. Becoming interested in the lumber business, he was many years connected with the Doe Brothers. October 31, 1883, he was married to

Henrietta Alice Cooper, the daughter of William F. Cooper of Santa Cruz.

Mr. Phillips was a descendant of many early Colonial settlers of Rhode Island, among whom were William Arnold, Rev. Chad Brown, Governor Caleb Carr, William and Mary Dyer, Capt. Ralph Earle, surgeon John Greene, Rev. Obadiah Holmes, Frances Latham, Michael Phillips, Philip Sherman, William Wilbur and Governor Roger Williams. He was interested in genealogical research and in history in general.

One of his more important accomplishments in historical work was the making of a record of the first twelve thousand burials in San Francisco, copies of which are at the State Library, in Sacramento, and the Sutro Branch, in San Francisco.

He was interested in the collecting of books and the establishing of libraries. The Doe Library, at Berkeley, the Scottish Rite Library, at Oakland, and the Mechanics Institute and Sutro Branch of the California State Library, at San Francisco, are visible fruits of his labors in this field.

A member of many fraternal organizations, as well as of the Pacific Philatelic Society, the California Bookplate Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, Sons of the American Revolution, Society of Colonial Wars, his life was spent in service.

He is survived by his daughters, Mrs. Paul Bailey, of Sacramento, and Miss Edith H. Phillips, of Berkeley.

SARAH LOUISE KIMBALL.